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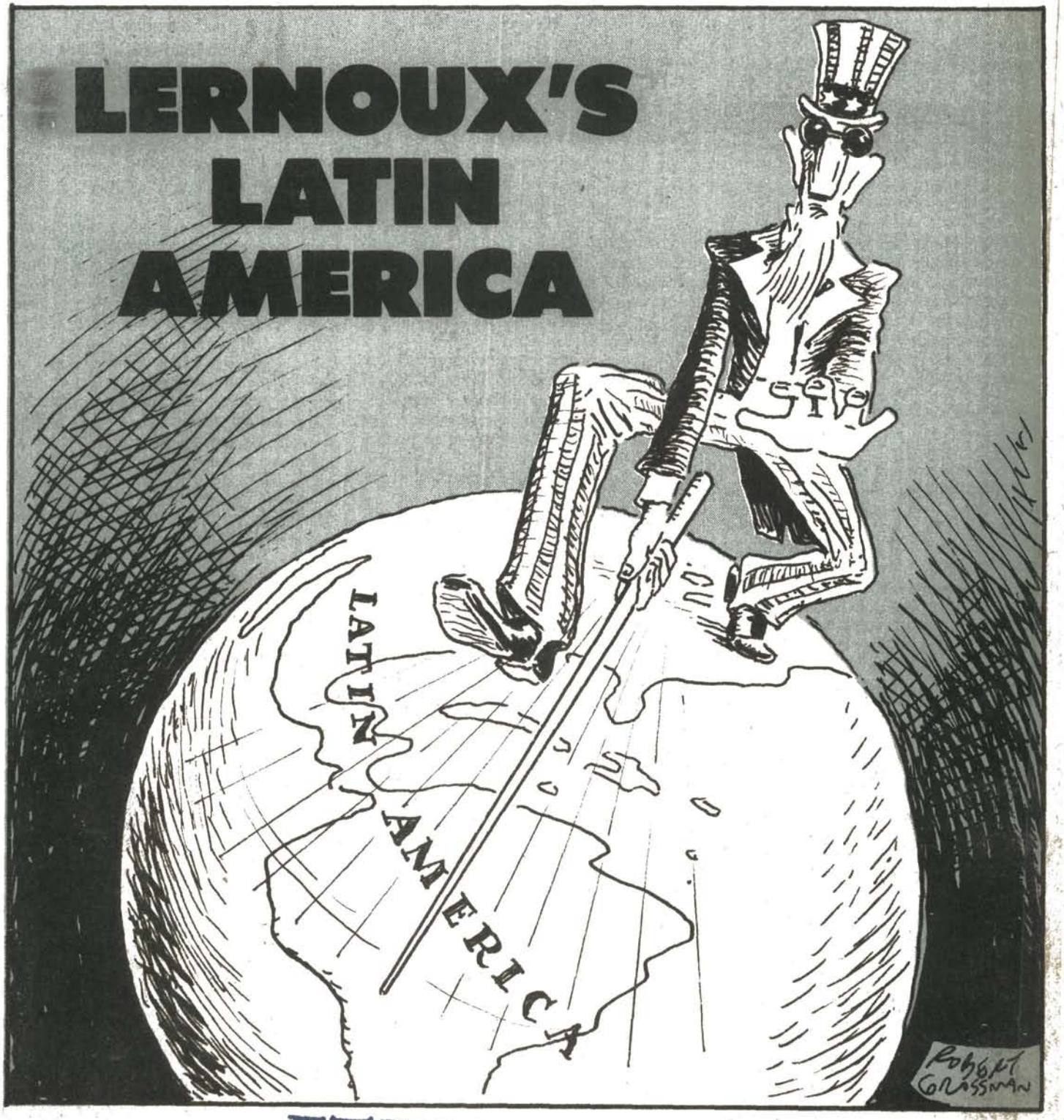
LERNOUX'S LATIN AMERICA



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LETTERS.

CUBA, ANGOLA AND ETHIOPIA

New York City

Michael Manley's piece on Cuba ["More Pluralist Than Thou," *The Nation*, Aug. 8-15] is excellent right up to the last sentence of the next-to-last paragraph. This sentence reads: "Add to this [misconceptions about Soviet and Cuban relations to popular revolutionary activity in Third World countries] Cuba's deep sense of ethnic connection to Africa and you will understand the decision to send troops to Angola—and to Ethiopia." Why in the world did he add the last three words? As Manley so clearly shows, the Angolan case is open-and-shut: Cuban troops were sent at the request of the Angolan government to help repel a South African invasion. If Manley thinks there is any similarity, analogy or parallel to Ethiopia, he should explain why, not slip in an implication that has absolutely no relevance to anything else in the article. All of the combatants in Ethiopia are Africans, and not so long ago the Cubans themselves were strong supporters of the Eritrean struggle for national liberation. If Manley ever discussed with Fidel Castro the reasons for the Cuban shift, it would be most interesting to learn the Cuban leader's rationale.

Paul M. Sweezy
Editor, Monthly Review

MANLEY REPLIES

Kingston, Jamaica

The political framework within which Cuba has acted in Africa is to be found in the declaration by the Organization for African Unity that all borders between African states are immutable and inviolable. This reflects the common sense of the parties, who fear a catastrophic domino effect on the continent if everyone were to start nibbling at territory on the basis of old claims, real or imagined.

As far as Angola and Ethiopia are concerned, action in two places is twice as upsetting as action in one for those who are resentful of the Cuban presence in Africa. But the facts in both cases were similar. The Ethiopian revolution was a reality that created a new government. Believing Ethiopia to be too weak to resist, Somalia pressed an ancient claim to territory. Its army was well into Ethiopia when the country's leader, Lt. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam, called for Cuban help. Military units were sent, and they repelled the Somalian invasion. Mengistu is believed to have asked the Cubans to pursue the Somalian Army over the border, but the Cubans refused to do more than defend the borders that were recognized by the O.A.U. The Cuban Army has never crossed these borders, just as it has never crossed the ones in Angola.

The Eritrean problem is quite separate, involving a rebellious province within Ethiopia. The Cubans have stated that they will not become involved in that dispute, and there is absolutely no evidence that the Cuban Army has ever been used against the rebels.

Michael Manley

PROPER CREDENTIALS

Rockville Centre, N.Y.

That must have been a tongue-in-cheek question closing Murray Waas and Jeff Chester's piece ["Sworn Testimony," *The Nation*, Aug. 8-15], asking whether one who stole (literary property), lied about it and answered legal questions with violence was "fit" to be Director of Central Intelligence.

Howard N. Meyer

TWO CHEERS FOR OUR "WASP"

Wassenaar, the Netherlands

The vituperous attacks on our beloved Calvin Trillin—*The Nation*'s house WASP—by John Branigan, Dorothy Rudo and Abraham Egnal ["Letters," Aug. 8-15] demonstrate three things. First, Branigan, Rudo and Egnal wouldn't know good satire if they tripped over it on the way to an Anti-Defamation League meeting. Second, they —and many other *Nation* readers—would do well to focus their attacks on real racism in our society. Reading the speeches of Jerry Falwell, Ronald Reagan and Jesse Helms would be a good way to observe not too subtle racism from powerful people. Third, we need much more Trillin to help us learn to laugh at ourselves and the absurdities of everyday life.

Norman J. Glickman

Spring Valley, N.Y.

I can't believe my eyes. I thought *Nation* subscribers were intelligent and perceptive. Calvin Trillin a bigot? Insensitive? Positively not, but some of your readers are myopic.

As a longtime reader of *The New Yorker* (before *The Nation*), I never suspected there was a little humorist in Trillin "busting" to get out. Your magazine revealed this. He is in a class with Russell Baker and perhaps even better, for whereas Baker's twist of the blade is ever so gentle, Trillin's is quicker.

We'd all be better off if we took ourselves less seriously, if we bared our weaknesses and foibles for all, indeed ourselves, to see. Write on Trillin!

Aaron R. Sobel

THE WRITERS CONGRESS

Ward, Colo.

I see in the July 4 *Nation* an announcement of the American Writers Congress [editorial, "Why a Writers Congress?"]. The call to the Congress said many good things, but many good things were left unsaid.

I would be eager to save my royalty pennies and attend the Congress if it took in not only territory of special interest to writers but also territory that writers share with other citizens. Such an enlargement of the Congress would be important, I believe, because the key to solving the most pressing problems of writers and other citizens is not in the call. I refer to the necessity of stopping the arms race, which may be a prelude to a war that neither writers nor readers will survive. The arms race is also a central cause of inflation, something I do not see considered in the call. Inflation engenders distress for writers and everyone else, and for writers it is a cause of the worsening contracts that are being offered us and of the high prices and limited sales of our books. And of course the climate that is congenial to the military-industrial complex is stifling to writers. Surely as many of the limitations that we experience these days follow from the belligerent policies of Washington and the "defense" community as flow from the burgeoning corporate control of the publishing industry.

Also, the call is noncommittal on the kinds of foreign writers who will be invited to attend the Congress. When I met with members of the Congress' staff to review my experiences as organizer of the Writers Congresses of 1939 and 1941, I heard something about the plans for inviting writers from abroad. Not one writer or writers' organization on the list at that time was from a socialist country, and one of the socialist countries—the Soviet Union—may publish as many as one-fourth of all the books distributed in the world today.

I have recently met with representatives of the Soviet Writers Union in Moscow, in Kazakhstan, in Lithuania and in the Buryat Autonomous Republic. I can assure you that these writers feel sympathy with American writers because of the problems we face, most of which they do not feel they are troubled with. But the socialist writers do share with American writers a love of literature, an interest in increased international exchange of books and a desire for disarmament. The socialist writers want peace—deeply and passionately, they want peace—as do citizens from the bottom to the top of Soviet society. And I don't see any American writers who have signed the call who want war.

Wouldn't it strengthen the Congress if American writers and representative writers from socialist countries could meet one another to talk over literary problems and efforts to achieve a world free from the danger of war?

Franklin Folsom

Notice to Our Readers

The Nation's summer schedule is in effect during August. Our next issue will be dated September 5, when we will resume weekly publication.

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EDITORIALS.

Gross Violations

According to Secretary of State Alexander Haig, there have been "dramatic, dramatic reductions" in violations of human rights in Argentina, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay. So saying, Haig last month endorsed $483.8 million in multilateral development bank loans to those four countries.

The United States is required by its own laws to oppose or abstain from voting on such loans to countries that engage in a "consistent pattern of gross violations of human rights." Haig's statement was, in fact, made in connection with the Reagan Administration's effort to persuade Congress that the law was not being violated. As Penny Lernoux makes plain in her survey of Latin America, the contention that human-rights violations have been reduced—dramatically or otherwise—has no basis in reality. If further evidence were needed, it was provided as we went to press.

In a logical extension of its repressive policies, the government of President Augusto Pinochet of Chile, beneficiary of a $126 million Inter-American Development Bank loan, on August 11 seized and expelled from the country four prominent human-rights activists, and arrested and detained many others who had signed statements protesting the earlier jailing of two union leaders. One of those expelled was Jaime Castillo, president of the Chilean Commission on Human Rights.

A noteworthy aspect of these events is that they took place only forty-eight hours after U.S. Ambassador to the

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United Nations Jeane Kirkpatrick concluded a visit to Chile. As Lernoux writes, the Pinochet government depends on the Reagan Administration for the success of its attempt to regain its international standing. It strains credulity, therefore, to imagine that these expulsions and detentions could have taken place if Kirkpatrick had signaled that new abuses would be disapproved in Washington. As part of its efforts to determine whether the Administration violated U.S. law by supporting the loan to Chile, Congress should call on Haig and Kirkpatrick for an accounting of their role in what happened to Castillo and the others.

Solidarity

Calvin Coolidge, that inspirer of Ronald Reagan, was, of course, wrong, even by the standards of 1919, when he said that public servants, as they were then quaintly known, had "no right to strike." Since that time, the public sector has sprouted luxuriantly, and today defies even Budget Director David Stockman's crude pruning hook. Public employee unions are, indeed, the fastest growing unions in the country. Their numbers alone are evidence that public employees can, will and must be allowed to withhold their labor in order to have a say in the terms of their work.

But is this old debate about the right of public employees to strike really the source of the Administration's outrage at the air traffic controllers? We think not. Reaganomics, if it is to work, needs at a minimum to reduce drastically wage costs by breaking the power of organized labor. Reagan is determined to teach labor a lesson—all labor, not just the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO). The press has made much of the fact that the air traffic controllers are well paid, but the fact that they represent a labor aristocracy is irrelevant. It is only a mark of Reagan's political astuteness that he chose one of the best paid, best organized unions in the country (and a union that, ironically, supported him in November) to set his ominous precedent.

Strikes are never a matter of "law and order" or, even worse, national "loyalty," as Reagan would have us believe. But if he succeeds in breaking this small, elite union by replacing it, all organized labor will be in jeopardy. You wouldn't know it from reading the press or, more important, from the incredibly passive response of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. to the President's rough treatment of an affiliated union. A.F.L.-C.I.O. President Lane Kirkland wrings his hands in a gesture symptomatic of the shamefacedly defensive character of Big Labor today. Kirkland admittedly has very little leverage, but a George Meany would at least have known the value of blustering against the President. We are, in fact, reaping the poisoned harvest of a generation or more of a business-oriented, ineffectual labor leadership.

At the very least, labor union bureaucrats ought to be proposing changes in the laws restricting supportive action by other unions in the aviation industry. William Winpisinger finds his International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (which could bring all air traffic to a halt) hobbled by laws against secondary boycotts and laws against honoring "illegal" strikes. Amid all the hubbub, no one seems to remember Walter Reuther's prerequisite for a no-strike pledge: compulsory arbitration. (We would hesitate to concede even this, because we believe the right to bargain is meaningless without the right to strike.)

The effort to destroy PATCO by mass firings is the most serious union-busting attempt in any developed capitalist country in decades. The A.F.L.-C.I.O. should be providing leadership in this crisis. Solidarity is the issue. (Thus, it is important to note that the only significant support the air controllers have received has come in the form of sympathy strikes from air controllers abroad.) If unions, in their present weakened condition, can be picked off one by one—as happened to the building trade unions in the last ten years—then maybe the time has come for organized labor to reconsider the tactic of the general strike. Solidarity strikes may soon be their only recourse.

Deadly Logic

The only good thing about President Ronald Reagan's decision to produce the neutron bomb is that it could reinforce the arguments of neutralists in Europe. Norway has filed an official protest with Washington over the decision; Britain's opposition Labor Party was already committed to a policy of unilateral disarmament; the Netherlands may well reject the stationing of new cruise and Pershing missiles there, and West Germany recently rebuffed the White House by deciding to cut its defense budget. The Europeans understand that in the event of a "limited" theater nuclear war, their homes, and not the homes of Russians or Americans, would be the battlefield.

"The neutron bomb is a battlefield weapon," E. P. Thompson, the noted British historian and writer, told us. "It won't be used in the United States, unless of course you think Mexico or Canada is about to invade. . . . It's a crazy weapon, for it presupposes that such a war can be fought and won."

The neutron bomb actually makes nuclear war more likely by making it appear to be more palatable. By developing nuclear weapons that kill people but whose blast effect greatly limits the damage to property, this Administration intends to make nuclear war a serious tactical option. Listen to what Stephen Peter Rosen, a member of the National Security Studies Program at Harvard University, has to say in a recent issue of *The Washington Quarterly*: ". . . the United States requires strategic defenses that will make nuclear war less terrible should it come."

The neutron bomb fits the bill. It will allow those who contemplate fighting a nuclear war to cross that threshhold believing their actions will not necessarily cause the ultimate holocaust. Europeans would do well to remember the American colonel in Vietnam who said, "We had to destroy the village to save it."

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SPECIAL REPORT

LATIN AMERICA:

A POLITICAL GUIDE TO THIRTY-THREE NATIONS

By Penny Lernoux

For most of their history, the countries of Latin America have moved back and forth between dictatorships and conservative elected governments, with time out occasionally for experiments in populism. The political lead has often been supplied by the United States, and since President Ronald Reagan's election, the region has moved further right. But an unusual counterpoint to this movement has developed in what the State Department calls the "circle of crisis" in Central America and the Caribbean. The dominant country there is not Cuba but oil-rich Mexico, which has its own geopolitical designs—and they do not include the existence of U.S. puppet dictators of former Nicaraguan strongman Anastasio Somoza's ilk. Nicaragua was the first country to fall out of step with Washington; now most of Central America is straying from the U.S. path. Further south, rebellion brews in giant Brazil, while Argentina, the richest of the southern nations, teeters on the brink of economic collapse.

The Reagan Administration's response to these defections and problems is at best simplistic, and a good many Americans on both sides of the Rio Grande think it much worse: "stupid, immoral and illegal," in the words of Representative Henry Reuss, Democrat of Wisconsin. The "white paper" that the State Department tried to palm off on our allies as proof of Cuban involvement in El Salvador's insurrection is typical of what passes for U.S. diplomacy these days. The paper contained so many errors in Spanish, in simple addition and in chronology that one former member of the Central Intelligence Agency was moved to complain, "When I was in the agency, our white papers were a hell of a lot better." Reagan is in such a hurry to find simple answers to El Salvador's complex problems, warned former President José Figueres of Costa Rica, that he is endangering the entire region: "You can squeeze a green avocado until it feels soft, but that doesn't mean it's ripe. It will only taste bitter."

Jeane Kirkpatrick, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, has said that it doesn't matter what people think of U.S. actions so long as Washington achieves its objectives. Ideals, she has said, are "irrelevant." And despite his not having been confirmed as Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Ernest Lefever's motto—"Choosing the lesser of two evils is the essence of morality"—lives on in the Reagan Administration's policy toward Latin America. As the exiled Argentine publisher Jacobo Timerman has argued, Reagan's "lesser evil" in Latin America is fascism or, in the least-developed countries, semifeudalism. In Kirkpatrick's semantics, fascism is "security against the forward march of history," and the greater evil is "international terrorism" directed by the Soviet Union (terrorists being defined as those who object to terrorism conducted by right-wing governments).

Reagan's Red scare is transparently hypocritical. While Washington turns a blind eye to the military camps in Florida where exiled Cubans and followers of Somoza are being trained, it accuses Cuba and Nicaragua of fomenting regional terrorism. "How can anyone believe in the United States' so-called principles," asks the respected French political scientist Maurice Duverger, "when it supports a regime in El Salvador that claims 100,000 deaths are necessary to insure social peace?"

The troubling thing about our antiterrorist campaign is that some of the most rabid terrorists often turn out to be members of either the U.S. military or the old-boy network of C.I.A. "spooks" and hard-liners in Washington. According to the Roman Catholic Church's human-rights commission in San Salvador, methods of torture previously unknown to the Salvadoran security forces, such as acid

Penny Lernoux is The Nation*'s Latin America correspondent and author of* Cry of the People *(Doubleday).*

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sprays, became widespread after the arrival in March of U.S. military advisers. Given Congressional revelations of torture and assassination courses for Latin American police conducted by the C.I.A., and the equally well-documented involvement of the Pentagon in the napalming of Central American peasants, the introduction of such sprays into El Salvador is hardly surprising. Also not surprising, though no less shocking, is Seymour Hersh's recent disclosure in *The New York Times Magazine* that some of the world's most notorious terrorist groups are being supplied not by Moscow but by former C.I.A. operatives.

The implications of Hersh's story are particularly ominous for Latin America because the old-boy network is so influential there. Its representatives have made it clear to Latin American dictators that they can have almost any U.S. armaments they want, which in the case of Argentina and Brazil could mean the material and technology to make nuclear weapons. The network views death squads as regrettable but necessary. As retired Gen. Gordon Sumner, a special adviser to Thomas Enders, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, explained it, "There is really no other choice."

Sumner is one of many hawks in Washington who subscribe to the Administration's belief in an international Communist conspiracy. Lacking any moral or historical vision, they long for the good old days of U.S. counterinsurgency campaigns in Latin America—and in Vietnam. Indeed, many of those now responsible for U.S. policy in Latin America, starting with Secretary of State Alexander Haig, played important roles in the Vietnam War. Enders speaks for this group when he says that Latin America's problems must be "met with force," although one can only hope that he is not referring to the same sort of force used in Cambodia, where he personally supervised the B-52 bombings of the Cambodian countryside in 1973.

Chief among U.S. enforcers in Latin America is retired Gen. Vernon Walters, who played a key role in the 1964 military coup in Brazil and in the C.I.A.-directed destabilization of for-

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mer Chilean President Salvador Allende's government. Walters speaks of Vietnam as "one of the noblest and most unselfish wars in which the United States has ever participated . . . the Tenth Crusade." Haig's top adviser on Latin America, Walters is currently crusading for the military regimes of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala, all of which he has visited with the promise of increased military aid.

Other crusaders from the past include the new U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador, Deane Hinton, who directed the Agency for International Development's program in Chile during the period when the United States was blocking outside assistance to Allende's government. Before that, Hinton directed the agency's efforts in Guatemala, assisting the U.S.-backed military rulers in a counterinsurgency program that killed as many as 10,000 peasants.

James Buckley, who, with his brother William, was involved in the C.I.A. smear campaign against Allende's Chile, is back in business as Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance, Science and Technology. The Buckley brothers' friend from Australia, best-selling author Robert (*The Spike*) Moss, who once wrote C.I.A.-financed propaganda against Allende, is also involved in the Administration's antiterrorist hysteria.

Moss and James Buckley are policy board members of the Institute of American Relations, a right-wing think tank with ties to Assistant Secretary Enders and allied with General Sumner's Council for Inter-American Security. The two organizations recently sponsored a meeting in Buenos Aires to discuss "Communist expansionism" in South America. Both groups work closely with the ultrarightist American Security Council, which is financed by such large corporations as General Electric (Reagan's one-time employer) and run by people like retired Maj. Gen. John Singlaub, the former commander of U.S. forces in South Korea who was dismissed by President Jimmy Carter for insubordination. The American Security Council was the sponsor of *Attack on the Americas*, a highly biased film on Central America [see David L. Aasen, "Coming Distractions," *The Nation*, February 28]. Among the film's consultants was John Trotter, the manager of Coca-Cola's Guatemala City bottling franchise who was implicated in the death squad murders of workers and union leaders. Singlaub and retired Gen. Daniel Graham met Trotter in Guatemala before the 1980 elections, when Graham was an adviser to Reagan. According to an on-site investigation by the Washington, D.C.-based Council on Hemispheric Affairs, a human-rights group, Singlaub and Graham gave Guatemalan officials a "clear message" to get on with the killing. "Mr. Reagan recognizes that a good deal of dirty work has to be done," they said.

The crucial Congressional supporter of the old-boy network is North Carolina's Republican Senator Jesse Helms, a staunch friend of Latin America's dictators. In return for his support of Reagan during the Presidential campaign, Helms was given the chairmanship of the Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, plus a commitment by the State Department that he would have a major say in the formulation of Latin American policy. It was because of Helms's influence that Walters and Sumner got their jobs. Helms's inquisitorial assistant, John Carbaugh, was instrumental in the department's decision to sack former U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador Robert White because he was openly sympathetic to the problems of the Salvadoran lower classes. Former U.S. Ambassador to Nicaragua Lawrence Pezullo also aroused Carbaugh's ire by maintaining good relations with the Sandinist government. But, unlike White, Pezullo resigned before he could be fired.

The United States has traditionally misunderstood its Latin American neighbors. Even in the best of cases—and, in retrospect, Carter's human-rights policy may seem such—relations with Latin America have been characterized by haphazard policies and ill-disguised disdain. But the insensitivity of the current crowd in the White House is beyond explanation or belief. Not only are Mexico and Canada in open conflict with Washington on this issue but most of Europe, including the government of West Germany, supports the forces of change in Latin America.

Reagan's advisers have failed utterly to understand the depth of that desire for change in El Salvador and in Guatemala, where decades of struggle have forged a rebellion that no amount of force can put down. Nor do they understand that Latin America is embarking on a new chapter in its history, one that will introduce far more complex and explosive issues than the region experienced in the 1950s, including a foreign debt so crippling that many countries are spending more on net interest than on imports. Economic problems have aggravated political strains and widened the gap between the rich minority and the impoverished masses, who are becoming aware of the structural causes of their misery. Tens of thousands of people have died or "disappeared" in countries with repressive military regimes, and more than 1 million Latin Americans have been forced to seek exile. As the following survey of thirty-three nations in Central and South America and the Caribbean shows, almost none can boast a stable, socially progressive democracy combined with a healthy economy.

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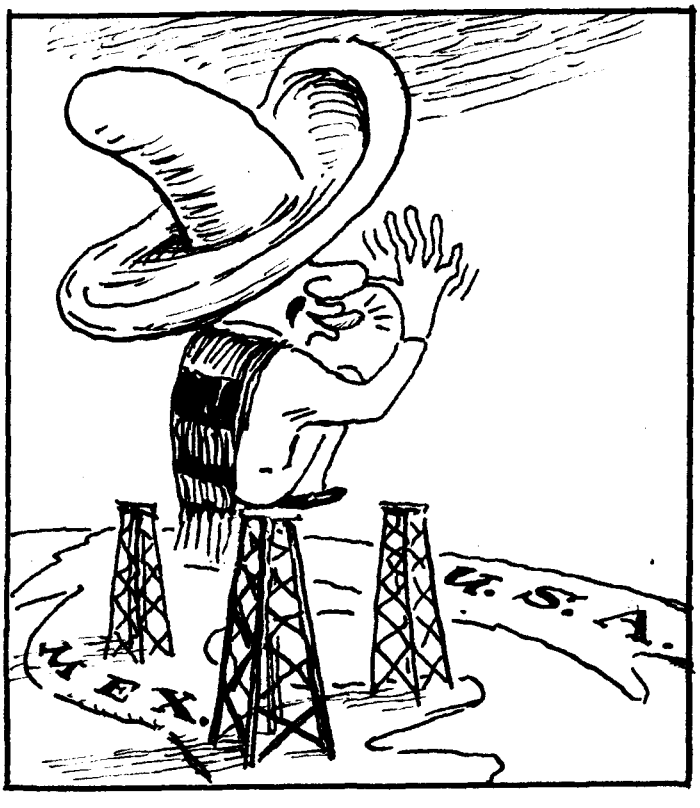
Mexico

Despite the cautionary lessons of spendthrift Venezuela and Iran, Mexico has used its oil credit to run up a $51 billion foreign debt, payments on which now absorb 35 percent of export earnings. Flashy capital imports have widened an already unfavorable trade gap, and in the past three years Mexico's relatively balanced economy has become dependent on oil for 70 percent of state revenues. That is a tenuous position from which to challenge the oil-importing nations, as the Mexicans recently did in demanding a $2 per barrel price rise just when the world market became awash in oil. Governments and private corporations promptly canceled orders for about one-fifth of Mexico's daily production, leaving the country without a vital source of income and increasing fears of an economic crisis during President José López Portillo's last year in office. A record high in public spending has made no noticeable dent in the appalling number of unemployed and underemployed Mexicans (estimated at 10 million people), since most of the money has gone to such capital-intensive sectors of the economy as energy. To the contrary, oil-fueled inflation has reduced real wages and hardened labor opposition to the government. López Portillo has also been unsuccessful in dealing with the chaotic state of Mexican agriculture, the economy's Achilles' heel and the primary cause of emigration to the United States.



Belize

The last remaining British territory on the American mainland, Belize (formerly known as British Honduras) owes its political importance to its geographical position between seething Guatemala and the oil fields of southern Mexico. An underpopulated, agricultural nation of English-speaking Creoles, Belize has enjoyed a relatively democratic, backwater style of self-government since 1964. While Britain has long been willing to grant the country full independence, negotiations have been held up by Guatemalan territorial claims and, more recently, by Belizean fears of an invasion by Guatemala. The Belizeans also suspect that Guatemala intends to use Belize's offshore islands as bases from which to control the Atlantic side of northern Central America. In addition to historical and cultural differences with Guatemala, Belizeans worry that they may be drawn into the cauldron of Central American political chaos when their country achieves independence at the end of September. There is some evidence to support these fears, including a rash of mysterious murders and fires aimed at Premier George Price's moderate People's United Party, and the establishment of a right-wing pro-Guatemala party called, imaginatively, the Anti-Communist Society.

Guatemala

Generally considered the worst human-rights violator in the Hemisphere, Guatemala's right-wing military regime has been charged by Amnesty International with the torture and murder of nearly 5,000 people since President Romeo Lucas

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García took power in rigged elections in 1978. Contrary to government claims that the killings are the work of "independent" paramilitary groups, Amnesty International has documented that the death squads are directed from the presidential palace. The slaughter is nothing new: More than 25,000 Guatemalans have been murdered since the 1954 military coup, which was stage-managed by the C.I.A. But whereas peasant and union leaders were once the principal victims, today anyone in the political center is a target (most of the center-right Christian Democratic Party leaders, for example, have been killed or forced underground, often joining the guerrillas). Presidential elections scheduled for March 1982 are thus viewed as a farce, since only extreme-right candidates will be allowed to participate.

The brutality of the repression reflects the fears of Guatemala's small coffee oligarchy and its military guard that the impoverished Indian peasantry will emulate the successful revolution in Nicaragua; and, indeed, Indians have for the first time begun to join the 2,000 or so guerrillas at large in the country. Because class and color divisions are even more rigidly defined than in El Salvador, the insurrection in Guatemala is coalescing faster. As in Nicaragua, the Catholic Church is playing an important role in the rebellion by siding with the peasants. Despite his regime's bloody record, the Reagan Administration has vowed to help "our ally" Lucas García put down the insurrection with arms, aid and military advisers. But with such friends, said Vinicio Cerezo, Secretary-General of Guatemala's Christian Democratic Party, Washington needs no enemies. The Reagan Administration's failure to acknowledge that there are democratic groups in Latin America capable of governing is creating a "vicious circle of dictatorship and rebellion," Cerezo said. A U.S. Congressional source agreed: The Guatemalan government wants U.S. military aid "to kill the left they've created by killing the center."

El Salvador

The death toll of noncombatants in El Salvador's ongoing insurrection stands at upward of 25,000. Amnesty International has reported that three-fifths of those killed were victims of the government's security forces. Another 150,000 Salvadorans are scattered throughout Central America in makeshift refugee camps. Relief workers have said that large numbers of children are dying because of inadequate medical facilities in some of the camps. Instead of supporting the refugee work of such international charities as Oxfam and the Catholic Relief Services, the State Department prepared a second white paper claiming that these groups are fronts for Salvadoran guerrillas. But in light of stories in *The Washington Post* and *The Wall Street Journal* questioning the reasoning and the legitimacy of the first white paper, the State Department has yet to release the second.

Despite $179 million in U.S. economic and military aid in 1981 and the presence of fifty-four U.S. military advisers, El Salvador's ruling junta is slowly but steadily losing ground to the guerrillas, who now control sizable portions of the northern and eastern parts of the country. In Morazán department, for example, the guerrillas inflicted heavy losses on the Salvadoran Army and forced it to withdraw 3,000 troops. As in Nicaragua, the guerrillas are establishing liberated zones in rural areas, where peasants are sowing crops under their protection. Elsewhere in the countryside, agriculture is faring poorly. World prices for coffee, the backbone of the economy, have slumped dramatically, and the combination of war and an ill-conceived agrarian reform program has hurt production. The flight of capital has cost the economy some $400 million since last year.

With Washington and the Salvadoran military steadfastly refusing to negotiate a truce with the guerrillas, the outlook for elections next year is bleak. The conservative Lawyers Association claims that elections cannot be held while the country is under martial law, an opinion shared by El Salvador's right-wing parties. The broad-based, left-of-center Democratic Revolutionary Front (F.D.R.) believes its candidates would be killed during the campaign if they were allowed to participate, which the military says they won't. Nevertheless, the F.D.R. is pushing for negotiations, and recently asked acting Archbishop Arturo Rivera y Damas of San Salvador to serve as mediator. Rivera y Damas has obtained Pope John Paul II's support for the peace effort, which would involve both Christian Democratic and Social Democratic governments in Europe and Latin America.

Honduras

An ally of the Salvadoran junta, Honduras's military regime until recently received more U.S. military aid than its neighbor. As many as seventy U.S. advisers have spent time in Honduras in the past year, and the Reagan Administration proposes to double military aid to $10.7 million in 1982. Washington has turned a blind eye to the blatant corruption and the alleged narcotics smuggling of Gen. Policarpo Paz García's government, primarily because Honduras would be the perfect place from which to mount a U.S.-backed invasion of either El Salvador to the southwest or Nicaragua to the south. The Honduran Army has on several occasions given more than a little help to its Salvadoran counterpart by driving fleeing Salvadoran peasants back over the border to be massacred. War with Nicaragua has been averted only because of strong opposition from Honduras's labor movement, but followers of Somoza continue to exert an influence on the army. A "moderately repressive" regime, to use the terminology of Jeane Kirkpatrick, Paz García's government has recently stepped up its antilabor activities with the arrest and murder of peasant leaders. Presidential elections scheduled for November are not expected to bring significant changes, as the leading candidate, the Liberal Party's Roberto Suazo Córdova, is a friend of Paz García's and an apologist for the military. Unlike El Salvador and Guatemala, there is no significant guerrilla activity in Honduras. Opposition comes instead from labor federations representing some 100,000 peasants and urban workers, who take strong exception to the delay in agrarian reform and to the austerity measures (including a reduction in public spending and the elimination of price controls) recently imposed by the International Monetary Fund (I.M.F.) as a condition for its three-year, $47.6 million aid program.

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HOW TO USE A SELF-SERVICE GAS STATION

YOU CAN SAVE MONEY BY DOING SIMPLE CAR MAINTENANCE YOURSELF.

Gasoline or diesel fuel usually costs less at a self-service station. But too many people think that filling a fuel tank is all there is to self service. You'll do your automobile the most good if you also include a few simple maintenance procedures.

Most self-service pumps have easy-to-follow directions printed right on them. Before you drive into a self-service station, it's helpful to know whether your car takes leaded gas, unleaded gas, or diesel fuel, and also where your fuel tank is located, so that you can pull up to the proper pump and have the fuel tank close at hand. The type of fuel your car requires should be printed on the instrument panel, and the fuel tank location can be found in the owner's manual.

If you don't find instructions on the pump, here's what to do at most stations: 1. Turn off the engine. 2. Remove the fuel cap. 3. Remove the nozzle from the pump and turn the pump lever to "ON." 4. Place the nozzle in your fuel tank and squeeze the trigger. 5. When the trigger clicks off, remove the nozzle from the tank and turn the pump lever to "OFF." 6. Replace your fuel cap.

There are some things, however, that the directions may not tell you. Fuel fumes are highly flammable, so you should never smoke at a service station. Also, fuel caps are easy to forget and lose, so when you remove the cap try to wedge it in between the door to the tank and body of the car, where you're not likely to forget it. All 1981 and most older General Motors cars have fuel caps that twist on and then click when secure.

When you're filling up, try to avoid topping off your tank, since it may overflow. If fuel does spill on your car, you should wash it off as soon as possible, to avoid paint damage.

After you fill your tank, remember to clean your windshield. If you've been driving in bad weather, be sure to wipe off your side mirrors and headlights, too.

A quick-maintenance inspection can help you spot potential trouble. You don't need any expensive tools—just a good quality tire gauge, a rag or paper towel, an oil can spout kept in a plastic bag, and a jug of premixed windshield washer fluid, such as GM Optikleen.

To check your engine oil, pull out the dipstick, wipe it clean, insert it again, then pull it back out. The oil should be between the marks labeled "FULL" and "ADD." If it's below "ADD," add a quart of the oil recommended in your GM owner's manual.

You should also check the coolant level. Most GM cars have a see-through recovery tank. If the level looks low, add coolant to this tank. Never remove the radiator cap when the engine is hot, because pressurized coolant may overflow and burn you.

Periodically check your brake, transmission, and power steering fluid levels. Your owner's manual tells you how. Remember to keep the windshield washer reservoir filled with fluid, too, especially in the winter when you use it most often.

Most GM cars are equipped with maintenance-free batteries. But it's still wise to make sure their cables are on tight and the ends aren't frayed. Look for fraying, cracks, or other signs of wear on belts, too.

Look at tires for signs of wear or worn-out edges which can indicate improper inflation or the need for alignment. Once a month, you should use a tire gauge to check the pressure. In GM cars, the recommended pressure is on the left front door edge or inside the glove compartment. Recommended pressure is for cold tires, so check them before you drive more than a mile.

You'll be putting self-service stations to their best use if you include maintenance checks in your stops for gas. Your GM owner's manual can be an invaluable guide to proper car care. Please use it.

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Nicaragua

Two years after the revolution that toppled the longest ruling dictator in Central America, the leftist Sandinist government walks a tightrope in Nicaragua, beset by economic difficulties, political divisions, Washington's undisguised hostility and threats of invasion from its neighbors. Nevertheless, the revolution is alive and well, with a number of achievements to its credit, including an impressive reduction in the illiteracy rate from 50 percent to 12 percent and a redistribution of 12 percent of the national wealth from the richest to the poorest sectors of the population.

Like other coffee producers in the region, Nicaragua has been adversely affected by the slump in world prices, but business leaders have been reluctant to increase their investments in cotton and rice until a firm understanding is reached with the Sandinist regime on their role in the economy, 60 percent of which is still in private hands. Under the pressure of growing instability in Central America, government and opposition leaders recently reached agreement on several key issues, the most important of which is their commitment to a "democratic, pluralist, popular and anti-imperialist" revolution. So long as Nicaragua follows that path, it is assured the continuing support of the European governments belonging to the Socialist International. President López Portillo of Mexico has also served notice, in a pointed reference to U.S. policy, that his administration opposes "a campaign of falsehoods and mystification against Nicaragua in the name of democracy," and that Mexico will defend the Nicaraguan cause as its own.

Costa Rica

Even Costa Rica's well-entrenched democracy is looking shaky under the stress of adverse economic conditions and the political hurricane in Central America. Political refugees have been deported, an unprecedented action in a country that has always prided itself on its hospitality to all exiles. Human-rights activists and Roman Catholic priests have been threatened with expulsion, and there have been a number of unwarranted arrests. After much agonizing, President Rodrigo Carazo's government has agreed to swallow the bitter medicine prescribed by the I.M.F. in return for desperately needed foreign exchange. But the I.M.F.'s conditions could spell more political trouble, as they include a whopping devaluation and an end to food subsidies and price controls. Combined with a 30 percent inflation rate, the austerity measures will cost workers about half of their purchasing power this year, a loss that is bound to lead to new wage demands and strikes, which in turn could mean more repression and a weakening of Costa Rica's democracy.

Luis Alberto Monge, the opposition candidate and frontrunner in next February's presidential elections, has agreed in principle to honor Carazo's I.M.F. commitments as well as his anti-Cuba policy, but he has warned Washington that Costa Rica will refuse to ally itself with Central America's military regimes.

Panama

The odd man out in Central America, Panama has enjoyed a period of unaccustomed political and economic tranquility since the signing of the new Panama Canal treaties in 1977. But the death this month of Gen. Omar Torrijos, Panama's strongman, poses new uncertainties for the region. The head of the National Guard, Torrijos, 52, was killed when his twin-engine Otter crashed in the rain forests of central Panama during a tropical storm. Hundreds of thousands mourned the passing of the shrewd politician responsible for ending the much-resented U.S. presence in the Canal Zone.

A regional nationalist who supported the Sandinist revolution in Nicaragua, Torrijos came to power in 1968 when he overthrew the aging demagogue Arnulfo Arias. Although he appeared to have retired from active politics when President Arístides Royo was elected in 1978, Torrijos retained ultimate power. A political realist of unquestioned courage, he was responsible for economic and social reforms that benefited the lower classes at the expense of the country's small oligarchy. While criticized by the left for encouraging foreign banks to use Panama as a regional haven, Torrijos capitalized on their presence to keep the economy afloat and out of the clutches of the I.M.F.

Unlike Torrijos, Royo has neither a forceful personality nor a popular following. Without his protector, the President will most likely come under increasing attack by the right-wing followers of Arias, a Nazi sympathizer who, despite his 81 years, is still a destabilizing force in Panamanian politics (he has been elected President on three occasions, and overthrown each time). Arias is a friend of President Reagan's, who bitterly opposed the Canal treaties and thought Torrijos a "tinhorn dictator." While Torrijos was alive, Royo was able to resist pressure from Secretary of State Haig to fall in line behind Washington's Central American policies. Whether he will be able to maintain Panama's independent posture depends in large part on Torrijos's successor as head of the National Guard, Col. Florencio Florez. Considered a political moderate, Florez was chosen on the basis of seniority and has yet to demonstrate the extent of his ambition or his ability to deal with Reagan's octogenarian man in Panama.

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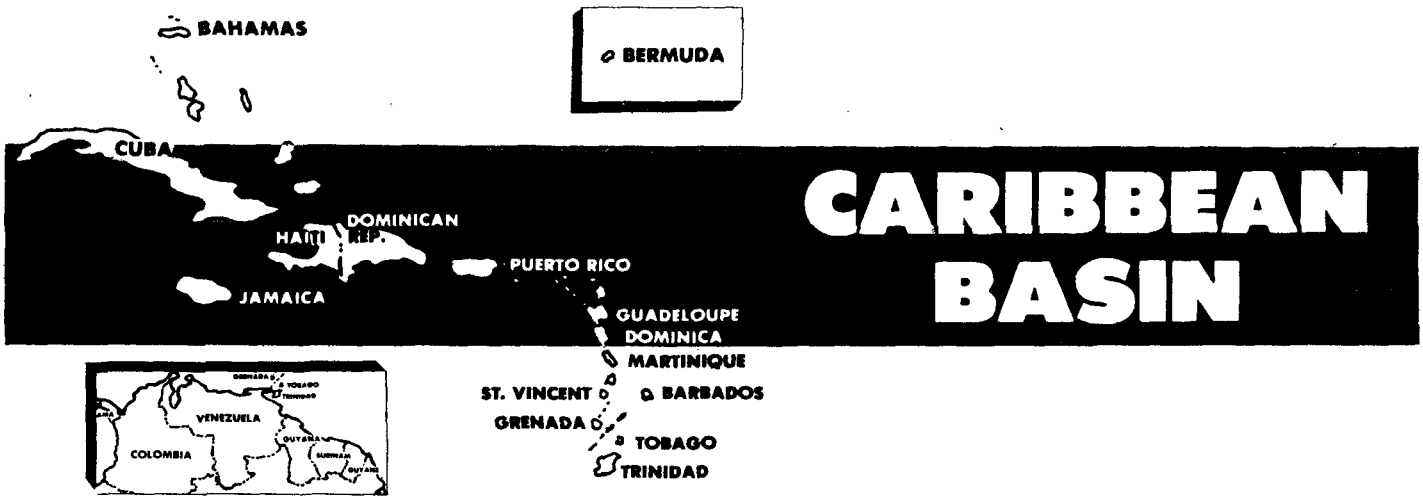

Cuba

As the principal focus of the Reagan Administration's ire, Cuba has lost many of its fair-weather friends in Latin America. Because of real or imagined grievances, these governments have suspended or broken diplomatic relations with Cuba soon after their defense ministers visited Washington with shopping lists of arms requests. Cuba's relations with other Caribbean nations are less problematic. Despite Jamaica's recent shift to the right and loud talk in Washington about a "mini-Marshall Plan" for the Caribbean, most governments there seem determined to maintain a pluralistic front and to resist U.S. efforts to draw ideological distinctions in the area, as was evident in their unanimous rejection of a recent U.S. attempt to prevent the Cuban-allied island of Grenada from receiving financial aid through the Caribbean Development Bank. Significantly, Prime Minister Tom Adams of Barbados, generally regarded as an ally of the United States, said that Washington's position "threw the whole aid-giving process into the ring" and suggested that the Caribbean might "in the end . . . have to do without U.S. aid." The Prime Ministers of Dominica, St. Kitts and St. Lucia were similarly skeptical about a Marshall-type plan, calling it "mere words." If nothing else, added Dominica's caustic Prime Minister, Eugenia Charles, aid talks with Washington might be "good practice for us, to learn to beg properly." Even Prime Minister Edward Seaga of Jamaica, who originally suggested such a plan, has refused to go along with Washington's rationale for handing out money, which is that Cuba is fomenting subversion in the Caribbean.

In fact, Cuba is in no position financially to fund large-scale subversion. Erratic sugar prices and unmet production targets have kept its budget in the red, with a chronic 2 percent shortfall in the gross national product. Economic setbacks and the U.S. blockade have accelerated Cuba's integration with the COMECON bloc (the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, which comprises Russia and its satellites), which is the source of 78 percent of the country's trade. Recent trade agreements with the Soviet Union will also insure Cuba's economic dependence for the remainder of the decade. Ironically, Secretary Haig's hate campaign has given President Fidel Castro's popularity a needed boost by encouraging Cuban solidarity in the face of a common enemy.

Bermuda

A popular playground for U.S. tourists, this autonomous British colony hides deep racial resentments behind its paradise island facade. Segregation of the predominantly black lower class from the wealthy white minority did not officially end until the 1960s, and Bermuda remains split politically along racial lines, with the increasingly militant Progressive Labor Party representing blacks, and the United Bermuda Party representing the white merchant class. The whites are currently running the show under the leadership of millionaire Premier David Gibbons. But strikes, murders and sporadic acts of vandalism have deepened tensions between the government and black civil servants, hotel workers and others employed by Bermuda's white proprietors. Some 5,000 foreign corporations, including many banks and insurance companies, have their headquarters in this tax haven, but these "brass-plate" operations (meaning they are no more than an office, one secretary and a brass plate on the door) contribute little in the way of employment to the densely populated coral islands.

The Bahamas

Another favorite tourist resort, this former British colony is the Caribbean's leading banking haven and a conduit for U.S.-bound marijuana and illegal aliens. Organized crime figures from the United States have an important interest in gambling concessions on Paradise Island. Recent changes in U.S. banking laws which effectively permit mainland bank havens are expected to threaten the Bahamas' position as the foremost Eurocurrency lending center outside London. Prime Minister Lynden Pindling's Progressive Liberal Party has made several ineffectual attempts to broaden the country's economic base by introducing taxes to finance new industry, but has always backed down in the face of threats by banks to abandon the islands. While the government muddles along, unemployment among young people keeps rising, accompanied by a crime and drug problem approaching epidemic proportions. The Bahamas have also been besieged by illegal Haitian immigrants.

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Prime Minister, Dominica has had more troubles in the past year than even the most inventive Hollywood scriptwriter could have devised, including running battles with armed terrorists and marijuana-trading Rastafarians as well as a plot to overthrow Charles by a former Prime Minister and a group of Ku Klux Klan-connected mercenaries. The island also took a battering from Hurricanes Allen and David. To Charles's credit, the government has carried out wide-ranging reforms in health care, education and agriculture despite almost constant crises.

St. Vincent

The island of St. Vincent has also had its share of Rastafarian troublemakers, but the conservative Prime Minister, Milton Cato, has managed to hold the line against them and against a new leftist coalition by getting himself reelected until 1984, much to Washington's relief. Cato has not been able to control the island's restive labor unions, however, which have given the government trouble over wage demands.

Grenada

Nicaragua's troubles with Washington pale by comparison with those of Grenada, whose fragile economy depends on the dwindling nutmeg trade and tourism. Smaller and more vulnerable than the Central American nation, Grenada has been frequently and crudely challenged by the Reagan Administration because of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop's friendship with Fidel Castro. Grenada's alliance with Cuba dates to early 1979 when Bishop's People's Revolutionary Party overthrew the corrupt and repressive regime of Eric (Uncle) Gairy, whose chief ally and arms supplier had been Gen. Augusto Pinochet's Chile. A U.F.O. enthusiast who has tried to mount mercenary invasions from California, Gairy is not missed in Grenada. However, his threats, frequent bombings and attempted countercoups have kept the island on edge.

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain has been sharply critical of Bishop's failure to hold elections or bring to trial political prisoners, but these complaints have a false ring in view of the admission of Britain's overseas development minister that his government does not like Bishop's cozy relationship with Castro. Britain has cut off nearly all bilateral aid to its former colony, going to the petty extreme of excluding Grenada from a scheme to rehabilitate the Windward Islands' banana industry. The United States, for its part, has taken Bishop to task for lack of press freedom, although the papers Washington has chosen to champion have links with C.I.A. officials stationed in neighboring Barbados. Propaganda notwithstanding, Bishop's government has maintained a mixed economy and tried to improve social services and revive the depressed agricultural sector. His government remains popular and, if anything, has gained support from the Reagan Administration's clumsy attempts at an economic embargo, which have included the unsuccessful effort to prevent Grenada from receiving aid from the Caribbean Development Bank and the blocking of a $7.6 million credit from the I.M.F. even though the country's application had been approved by the fund's staff. The United States was successful in dissuading several countries, including West Germany, France, Italy and the Netherlands, from attending a recent European Economic Community pledging conference, at which Grenada solicited loans for the construction of a new $60 million international airport intended to boost its tourist industry. Work on the project continues, despite U.S. efforts, thanks to support from Nigeria, Lybia, Venezuela and Cuba, among other countries.

Trinidad and Tobago

Exceptionally blessed in their oil riches, the Caribbean's southernmost two islands have recently undergone a change in style of government, if not in substance, with the death of the autocratic Prime Minister Eric Williams and his replacement by the nondescript George Chambers. Like its oil-rich neighbor Venezuela, Trinidad has been beset with corruption and administrative mismanagement. While Trinidadians enjoy the fourth highest per capita income in the Hemisphere, public services are either nonexistent, inadequate or out of order. Even Jamaica, with all its political and economic troubles, has a more efficient civil service. When Williams died last March, his government was facing serious labor unrest, and Tobago was restive over Williams's failure to grant the smaller island self-government. To demonstrate that he is a better administrator than Williams was, Chambers was given a brief respite from internal criticism before this year's elections, but to date there has been no indication of real change. His People's National Movement, which has run Trinidad and Tobago for the past twenty-five years, will probably be returned to office, but only because opposition parties on the right and the left are split or disorganized.

The French Caribbean

Like the Puerto Ricans, the people of France's three Caribbean *départements* (Martinique, Guadeloupe and mainland Guyane) have been bought off by welfare payments and pressure to adapt to the culture of their colonizers. The French-run radio and television stations still carry virtually no local news, encouraging the population, as one Guadeloupan observed, to "end up forgetting that we live in the tropics." Bright young people, who would normally form the backbone of any political opposition, have been lured to France with promises of special opportunities. Liberation groups are repressed or intimidated by France's Caribbean garrison.

The cost of dependence is considerable: All but the smallest decisions are made in Paris, and white officials from France are in charge of everything. The corrupt white merchant class exploits the black masses and prevents the development of industries that might threaten its monopoly on imports. The decline of the sugar cane industry is accelerating, adding to already high unemployment rates and increasing the likelihood of violence in the slums of Guadeloupe and Martinique. So conditioned is the populace to apathy that only 52 percent bothered to vote in France's recent elections. Socialist President François Mitterrand's victory was unenthusiastically received until his government announced a hefty hike in welfare payments.

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SOUTH AMERICA

Surinam

A former Dutch colony, Surinam has the same heterogeneous population as the Dutch Caribbean islands of Curaçao and Aruba. Blacks, East Indians, Dutch, Indonesians, Arabs and Chinese maintain separate cultural identities without the bloody race wars frequent in neighboring Guyana. In early 1980, a bizarre sergeants' coup threw out the elected government over a wage dispute; the military subsequently charged fallen Prime Minister Henck Arron with corruption and mismanagement. Just as the sergeants were making up to Nicaragua and Bishop's Grenada, a coup within the coup occurred, ridding the government of leftist influence and giving the centrist President, Henk Chin A Sen, sweeping powers backed by the support of a military council. Although some progress has been made by investing the Netherlands' $1.5 billion independence gift in various development projects, including a hydroelectric plant and a railroad, little has been done to relieve widespread poverty in the countryside or to attract new industries, most of the government's time being spent outguessing new plotters.

Guyana

The only former British colony on the South American continent, Guyana has been plagued by violent disputes between its black and East Indian populations, which are divided politically along racial lines. Sometime Socialist Forbes Burnham represents the blacks; the pro-Moscow Cheddi Jagan, the East Indians. A multiracial leftist party—the Working People's Alliance—has recently emerged to challenge Burnham's repressive seventeen-year rule (a political longevity due less to his popularity than to rigged elections). Like Surinam, Guyana is heavily dependent on bauxite, although sugar and rice production give the economy some flexibility. However, the output of both sugar and bauxite has fallen far below government targets, and Burnham has applied to the I.M.F. for financial relief, with the inevitable social consequences. Trade unions, including the government's own, are up in arms over a wage squeeze at a time when 16 percent devaluation, 40 percent inflation and new taxes have sharply reduced purchasing power. Burnham's ministers claim that the economy's troubles are the fault of Venezuela, with which Guyana has a longstanding border dispute, but what the Spanish-speaking Venezuelans have to do with mismanagement in Georgetown the ministers don't explain.

Venezuela

The wealthiest nation in Latin America, Venezuela offers a sobering tale of oil riches. Since petroleum was first extracted from western Maracaibo in the 1920s, dictators and then leaders of democratic governments have squandered billions of dollars on massive white elephants. Corruption is a way of life, and so chaotic are the state's finances that at one point the government did not know how much it owed on the foreign debt. By the Venezuelans' own admission, the principal cause of the economic mess is political patronage. Every five years, the government changes hands between the Christian Democrats' C.O.P.E.I. party and the Social Democrats' Democratic Action Party, A.D. Although elections are generally honest and voter turnout is generally high, the traditional switch in parties means that an entire administration, down to the lowliest file clerk, is flung out, and new appointments are made solely on the basis of partisan interests. The lone exception to this government by musical chairs is the nationalized oil industry, the administration of which has been left to seasoned technicians by common accord of C.O.P.E.I. and A.D. leaders, who realize that pork-barreling the oil industry would kill the goose that supplies four-fifths of the state's golden eggs. Other state enterprises have proved disasters. The worst performance was registered by the food distribution agency, reflecting the disorganization of Venezuelan agriculture, which is unable to supply more than half the food consumed in the country.

Incapable of administering its torrent of wealth, Venezuela has become a nation of nouveaux riches and have-nots (48 percent of Caracas's inhabitants live in slums). Under C.O.P.E.I. President Luis Herrera Campins, the economy has contracted, bankruptcies have increased and unemployment has risen to 10 percent. Perhaps the most ominous aspect of this breakdown is that, after twenty-two years of

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elected governments, many Venezuelans are rephrasing Peggy Lee's old refrain, "Is that all there is to democracy?"

Colombia

If oil has been the undoing of Venezuela, narcotics have fueled corruption in Colombia, which supplies two-thirds of the marijuana and cocaine consumed in the United States. Unlike the oil industry, however, the drug trade has allowed a wide distribution of wealth, as newly rich peasant growers buy more consumer goods and drug distributors invest in the construction and textile industries and tourism. But Colombia has paid a steep price in crime (a recent study showed that more murders are committed there than in all of Europe) and in the disintegration of traditional political and economic structures (the economy is now almost entirely controlled by three conglomerates). Neither of the country's center-right political parties offers hope of leadership to the impoverished, restive masses, who have turned to the militant labor unions to champion their cause in a time of rapidly rising inflation and unemployment. President Julio César Turbay has managed to avert a military coup by giving the armed forces a relatively free hand in dealing with political and labor dissidents, but his successor in the 1982 elections may be unable to maintain the narrow line between a civil and a military government. If push comes to shove, there is little doubt that the Reagan Administration would support the military. The recipient of more U.S. military aid than any other country in South America, the Andean nation is a crucial piece in Haig's chess game because of its geographical position as the gateway to the continent.

Ecuador

A poverty-stricken banana republic for most of its history, Ecuador has enjoyed the illusion of wealth since the early 1970s, when oil was first extracted from its eastern jungles. But like Venezuela, Ecuador has been unsuccessful in sowing petroleum profits back into agriculture or industry, and its oil reserves are beginning to dwindle. Behind the plush new skyscrapers in Quito are the miserable slum dwellings of more than 100,000 dispossessed Indians, who are much despised by the capital's white minority. In some rural areas little has changed since the conquistadors enslaved the Indians. The black population of the coastal lowlands fares no better, since most of the wealth there is controlled by white merchant importers. Although the 1979 election of President Jaime Roldós brought a respite from Ecuador's tedious round of demagogues and dictators, the young reformer was unable to effect meaningful changes because of the obstructiveness of a bickering congress. Roldós and his wife were killed in an airplane crash in May while on an inspection tour of military garrisons near the Peruvian frontier following brief border hostilities between the two countries. His successor, Vice President Osvaldo Hurtado, is also young and interested in reform, but must deal with the same congressional divisions as Roldós without the latter's broad political base and gift for communication with the masses. The founder of Ecuador's Christian Democratic Party and widely regarded as Washington's man in Quito, Hurtado is expected to reject his predecessor's enthusiasm for the Sandinist government in Nicaragua and the Salvadoran opposition. Ecuador's already strained relations with Cuba will probably not improve.

Peru

Peru has come full circle since the 1960s, when the ineffectual populist President Fernando Belaúnde was booted from office by the military for making too many concessions to foreign oil companies. The nationalistic officers who seized power proclaimed sweeping reforms to stem the influence of leftist guerrillas among the disaffected Indian masses, but most of the reforms soon turned into new sources of graft for greedy generals. A coup within the coup in 1975 paved the way for a return to elections last year, and Belaúnde, of all people, became President again. Older but seemingly no wiser, Belaúnde harps on the same romantic daydreams he cherished two decades ago, such as an Amazon highway that he claims will solve Peru's many social and economic problems. But the realization of this project is as probable as the President's grandiose promises of new employment opportunities.

Under monetarist Prime Minister and Minister of Finance Manuel Ulloa, the trickle-down theory of wealth is again in vogue, with oil companies and other foreign investors being offered such come-ons as tax incentives. Ulloa has made himself unpopular with the masses by instituting a 36 percent devaluation along with price decontrols, which pushed the cost of living up by 57 percent in the first eight months of Belaúnde's government. With nearly half the population underemployed and minimum wages stuck at $78 a month, labor unions and shantytown organizations are moving toward open class war. Belaúnde's response has been to sanction a draconian security statute authorizing the military to arrest and hold incommunicado for fifteen days anyone who even "contemplates" dissent. According to Peru's moderate Catholic bishops, the law has led to institutionalized torture.

Bolivia

The holder of South America's record for numbers of coups, this impoverished Andean nation has for the past year been under the heel of the most corrupt and repressive regime in its history. Engineered by the colonels and generals who control the country's cocaine traffic, last year's coup was carried out in large part by Argentine thugs recruited by former German Nazi commanders in order to prevent a democratically elected government from taking office. Hundreds of political, labor, peasant and church leaders were rounded up, tortured and killed; entire villages of tin miners were wiped out. So blatant was the drug connection that even hard-liners in the State Department and the I.M.F. would have nothing to do with Gen. Luis García Meza's government. After three attempted countercoups, it was judged politic for García Meza to step aside in a friendly palace shuffle earlier this month. But when the new junta announced that it would carry on García Meza's

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policies, dissident generals sparked an uprising in Santa Cruz, the country's second largest city. The leaders of the uprising included a former president, who himself had been overthrown after only fifteen days in office, and one of the generals involved in the series of coups against García Meza. While they denounced the government's drug-running activities and the nation's virtual bankruptcy, the Santa Cruz generals were primarily concerned with having a say in who would be dictator. After a few days of mutual name-calling, the rebels agreed to lay down their arms in return for a promise from the junta that Bolivia's generals and colonels would hold an "election" among themselves to determine the next president.

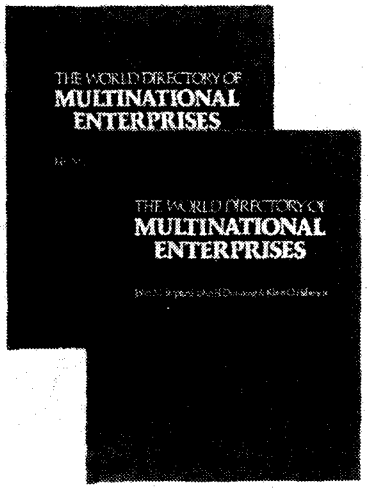
Whoever runs the country will have to coexist, willingly or otherwise, with the paramilitary groups of Col. Luis Arce Gómez, former Interior Minister and a leader of the coup that put García Meza in power. Bolivia's cocaine kingpin, Arce Gómez set up his goon squads with the assistance of two former Gestapo commanders living in Bolivia—Klaus Barbie, 74, who is wanted by the French and West German governments, and Hans Stellfeld. After the coup last year, their leaders, including Barbie, were welcomed into Arce Gómez's interior ministry. When eight of the "Boys from Bolivia" were arrested by Brazilian police near the Bolivian frontier, the Nazis' cover was blown, but the revelations have not hindered Arce Gómez, who is able to pay off—or kill—any military dissenter with his multimillion-dollar profits from the drug trade. The colonel also obligingly offers the dictator of the moment an independent death squad to eliminate political opponents.

Chile

After eight years as an international pariah, Pinochet's Chile is coming in from the cold, thanks to the restoration of good relations with the Reagan and Thatcher governments. Despite periodic bombings by the Movement of the Revolutionary Left and continuing hostility from the Christian Democrats, Pinochet has strengthened his hold on the country, which he intends to maintain until 1989, when the military will most likely reconfirm him for another eight-year term. Like other regimes in the continent's southern cone, the Chilean government has perfected the techniques of terror through the arrest, torture and "disappearance" of dissidents. But deep resentments seethe in the slums and the copper mines over the economic and social costs of a highly discriminatory "capitalist revolution" based on the free-market theories of U.S. economist Milton Friedman. Public education, health services and the social security system, which once were considered among the best in Latin America, have been dismantled and turned over to private business. The rising standard of living of the lower and middle classes has slumped sharply, throwing Chile back to a time when a white oligarchy ruled the impoverished *rotos*.

Propaganda to the contrary, Friedman's formulas have not ended inflation, which is running at about 30 percent, or attracted large foreign investments. Last year, for example, only $194 million flowed into Chile, mostly to the mining in-

WORLD DIRECTORY OF MULTINATIONAL ENTERPRISES
By Professor John Dunning and Professor John Stepford



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dustry. Meanwhile, manufacturing is in trouble because of a deluge of cheaper imports. Industrial productivity indexes show that with the exception of copper, output is 2.6 percent lower than it was in 1972, a year before the military deposed President Allende. An agricultural nation, Chile is spending more than $1 billion a year on food imports.

The major beneficiaries of Friedman's policies are the giant financial conglomerates appropriately known as "piranhas" and their partners in the international banking system. In the past six months, thirteen U.S. and European banks have opened offices in Chile to cash in on record profits from speculation and usurious interest rates. The foreign debt has soared to $11.2 billion, one of the highest per capita debts in the world, and it costs Chile more than half its foreign earnings to service it. As in other military regimes, corruption flourishes. In the latest of a series of scandals involving the intelligence service, the head of intelligence in the northern city of Arica was implicated in a bank robbery and in the murder of two bank clerks.

Argentina

Taken to the bitter end in Argentina, Friedman's free-market policies have nullified decades of industrial development, leaving the country dangling over an economic abyss. Argentina's military regime, like Chile's, slashed tariffs, wiping out both local and multinational industries. Conglomerates snapped up ailing companies and state enterprises, but in Argentina's high-interest (120 percent) money game, several overextended themselves and collapsed last year, dragging with them no fewer than twenty-nine banks, including the country's largest private bank. Since then, thousands of panic-stricken Argentines have besieged exchange houses, driving down the currency to an incredible 7,500 pesos to the dollar. High foreign reserves, which the government once considered proof of economic health, are tumbling sharply as speculators convert their money. Meanwhile, inflation is roaring along at a rate of 116 percent a year, and unemployment and underemployment are rapidly mounting. Public complaints are still relatively muted, however, since most of the population has been thoroughly cowed by five years of ferocious repression, during which some 20,000 people have disappeared or been killed.

Speculation has been rife about a coup within a coup. Much of the blame for the economic mess has been heaped on Gen. Roberto Viola, who assumed the presidency last March as banks were collapsing all around him. In fact, Viola inherited the debacle from the previous military government, which gave monetarist Economy Minister José Martínez de Hoz a free hand to force the country back in time to a period when it had little industry and depended on beef and grain exports. The monetarists believed that Argentina should fit into what they call "the new international division of labor" by importing almost everything; but as in Chile, the only groups to benefit from this kind of thinking have been quick-witted speculators and foreign banks. (The "Wizard of Hoz" was supported by David Rockefeller, a relationship which is now being questioned by many army officers, wno are beginning to realize the implications of Martínez de Hoz's intent to destroy Argentine industry.)

The only bright spot in the government's otherwise unrelieved gloom is the Reagan Administration's desire to kiss and make up with the neo-Nazi regime, notwithstanding its appalling record on human rights. One of the few Latin American governments that openly support U.S. policy in El Salvador, the Argentines have been assured of an end to the military embargo imposed by former President Carter. The generals also have been repeatedly told of Reagan's high regard for them by a stream of visitors from Washington, including General Walters. While Reagan's love affair with the Argentine military will do nothing to solve the country's economic crisis, it is proving useful as a "hunting license against human-rights critics," according to a dissenting Argentine diplomat, particularly against those who refuse to forget that their sons and daughters disappeared into the military's infamous concentration camps.

Uruguay

Worried about possible economic fallout from the Argentine mess across the Rio de la Plata, Uruguay's generals have been talking of a return to elections in 1984. The junta has also been talking about greater press freedom and putting an end to prohibitions on political meetings. The civil rights of some 8,000 Uruguayans, including many prominent opposition leaders, would then be restored, and representatives of the principal parties asked to join the government in preparation for the changeover. The decision to return to the barracks after eight years of brutal dictatorship was not easily made, admitted Gen. Abdón Raimundez, who heads the Armed Forces' Political Commission. On the other hand, it has been clear since last

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November that the majority of Uruguayans wish the military would go away. Convinced of the Uruguayans' loyalty, the cocky armed forces held a plebiscite on a continuation of military rule, only to be roundly defeated by a people with a long tradition of democratic values. In addition to growing economic problems, the military government was badly shaken last April by a scandal that led to the resignation of a number of senior officials. The minister of the interior, the commander of the army school, Montevideo's police chief and a half-dozen colonels were caught in a loan-shark and kickback scheme run by a local gambler, who subsequently disappeared, some say into the dungeons of the army school. The proposed return to democracy is being taken seriously by Uruguay's politicians, who point out that even in Latin America, dictatorships do not last forever. The Chileans may take heart from developments in Uruguay: The generals there originally intended to stay in power until 1991, two years longer than Pinochet.

Paraguay

In Paraguay, it would seem, dictatorships do last forever: Gen. Alfredo Stroessner, the longest reigning dictator in Latin America, is unlikely to be eliminated by any but natural causes. At 69, Stroessner's health is reportedly not good, but the wily general has lost none of his repressive faculties, which have recently been directed at peasant leaders and critical journalists. Although shaken by the murder of fellow dictator Anastasio Somoza, Stroessner is in little danger of suffering the same fate, having eliminated most of his enemies during a twenty-seven-year reign of terror. Unequalled in the extent of its corruption even by the Haitian government, Stroessner's regime has found new sources of bribery in Brazil's construction of the giant Itaipú hydroelectric complex on the two nations' border and in the sale of Paraguayan peasants' land to Brazilian and U.S. developers. The majority of the Guaraní-speaking people live outside the economy—illiterate and fatalistic Indians who are used as peons on the large ranches, where, according to a Paraguayan bishop, they have less value than a horse or a cow (the Indians are often referred to as *chanchos*, or pigs). Despite the work of journalists and opposition politicians, many of whom have paid for their independence in the torture chambers of Stroessner's police, the outlook for Paraguay, even after Stroessner dies, is unpromising. So ingrained are corruption and repression, says a young journalist who admits to having been bought off himself, that "the only thing people worry about is being on the right side of the next general who takes power."

Brazil

The largest country in Latin America, Portuguese-speaking Brazil boasts the eighth-largest economy in the West. Though culturally different from its neighbors, Brazil sets the continent's pace in repression as well as in industrial development—a macrocosm of all the extremes in Latin America, its frustrations and its hopes. The region's tendency to justify its neo-fascist militarism on national security grounds originated in Brazil, which was also among the first countries to experiment with the trickle-down theory of growth. Brazil has the highest foreign debt in the developing world (about $57 billion) and is the Third World leader in arms manufacturing. Among its people are some of the poorest in the Hemisphere—18 million Brazilians in the drought-stricken Northeast have a yearly income of less than $100—and some of the richest—Brazilian executives earn twice the salaries of their U.S. counterparts. Brazil's military regime, dating back to 1964, is one of the oldest in the region, a longevity that has contributed to the advanced organization of the labor movement and the progressive outlook of the country's Roman Catholic bishops. Thanks to the Church and the labor movement, Brazil's passive millions are gradually awakening to the injustices of a military-imposed system which has created dependence on the multinational corporations that control the country's industry and agriculture and are the principal source of its enormous foreign debt.

Incapable of holding down the political lid, President João Baptista Figueiredo's regime has been inching toward an opening to democracy, known as the *abertura*. Press censorship has been reduced, political exiles have been allowed to return and opposition parties have reorganized. But the *abertura* has not been to the liking of military hard-liners, who have sponsored a campaign of bombing and terrorism against newspapers and human-rights advocates and also attempted to blow up a Rio de Janeiro concert hall jammed with 20,000 people. Under Economy Minister Antonio Delfim Netto, the government has also become hostile to the independent labor movement, imprisoning several of its leaders and brutally attacking strikers. Delfim Netto is trying to implement I.M.F.-style austerity measures in order to obtain $10 billion from foreign banks to service the debt this year, and, as usual, the first victim is labor. But to date, all that he has achieved are massive layoffs in industry and 120 percent inflation, the highest in Brazilian history.

The uncertain economic situation has increased doubts about the outcome of next year's elections for state and municipal officials, the first direct elections since the military seized power. The results will determine the composition of the electoral college, which will select the next president. The regime is trying to rig the outcome in favor of the government party, but so far the opposition has refused to cooperate. On the other side of the political spectrum, the army's right wing threatens a coup within a coup. Whatever happens, Brazil has already passed a political crossroads. No amount of repression can destroy the essential lesson that has been learned by hundreds of thousands of poor people in unions and church organizations: "We have a right to participate in national life, too," a slum mother in São Paulo pointed out. That challenge is not limited to Brazil but extends to all of Latin America and the Caribbean, where new groups are emerging to question the centuries-old order of repression and poverty. While their methods differ, all are seeking indigenous solutions to economic dependence and political disenfranchisement. Ironically, President Reagan's policies will merely accelerate the process. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

What the Right Hand is Doing

TAMAR JACOBY

LISTEN, AMERICA! *By Jerry Falwell. Doubleday & Company. 269 pp. $9.95.*

THE BATTLE FOR THE MIND. *By Tim LaHaye. Fleming H. Revell Company. 247 pp. $8.95. Paper $4.95.*

THE NEW RIGHT: We're Ready to Lead. *By Richard A. Viguerie. The Viguerie Company. Distributed by Caroline House. 191 pp. $8.95.*

THE SWEETHEART OF THE SILENT MAJORITY: The Biography of Phyllis Schlafly. *By Carol Felsenthal. Doubleday & Company. 337 pp. $13.95.*

These books by and about New Right leaders are written primarily for an audience of faithful supporters, people who already scorn homosexuals and stand firm against abortion. The language is largely emotional in its appeal, designed above all to persuade readers that the time has come to act on shared resentments and fears. When it comes to doctrine, the texts are often cursory and familiar: Preachers Jerry Falwell and Tim LaHaye and New Right strategist Richard Viguerie complain in often identical phrases about the tastelessness of television and rock 'n' roll, about the difficulty of disciplining one's children and about the godlessness that threatens the country.

But this litany offers little insight into the hysteria of many New Right followers, and it hardly explains why they are turning now to electoral politics to answer questions about their private lives. For this, one must look beyond doctrine to the New Right's apocalyptic fears and to their leaders' shrewd redefinition of the line that divides left from right, private from public. "We must act quickly," Falwell claims, because America is on the "brink of death."

The opening pages of Falwell's *Listen, America!* do not mention "family issues," "the right to life" or immorality on television. Falwell begins instead with a detailed account of a trip to Southeast Asia: a description of refugee camps on the Thai border, statistics about the genocide in Pol Pot's Cambodia, several horror stories about the mistreatment of boat people and orphaned children. "Millions of people across the globe are running away from communism," he says, in a shrewd appeal to readers who still resent the U.S. withdrawal from Indochina and feel that American troops were "not allowed" to win in Vietnam.

There is, in fact, very little about "family issues" in the first hundred pages of Falwell's book; instead, his chapters are devoted to classical Greece and Rome, revolutionary America, Israel and the Soviet threat. The discontent he hopes to tap clearly ranges far beyond his familiar litany of woes—the gripes about feminism and homosexuality, pornography, promiscuity and teen-age sex. He is appealing to fears of purposelessness, "drift," cynicism and to the "crisis of will" that now stands between America and a "commitment to victory." In this he speaks directly to people's sense that they have lost control of their lives, their sense that control has been taken over by the much resented Federal government, but also, implicitly, by the corporation, the technical expert, the vagaries of the business cycle.

In *The Battle for the Mind*, California preacher Tim LaHaye, a member of the governing board of Falwell's Moral Majority, reveals the depth of this frustration in his descriptions of the "secular humanism" that he claims has "captivated the thinking of the Western world." This humanism includes, among other things, a hubristic belief that man can use technology to control the environment and a misguided faith in "the socialist one-world view" of organizations like the United Nations that act as "Big Brother" to the entire globe. Like Falwell, LaHaye appeals to our most extreme and far-fetched fantasies that we can retreat from "technocratic" society or the compromises necessary in a world of modern weapons and international trade.

But, of course, LaHaye and Falwell do not propose that sort of sweeping change. Falwell speaks to a wide-ranging dissatisfaction with political and economic conditions, but the solutions he suggests are entirely private ones:

> We can talk about inflation, about big government, about crime in the streets, about America's lack of defense, and about a host of other critical subjects. . . . But the fact remains that at the root of America's problems today is the decay of our individual . . . morals.

Precisely how public and private are linked Falwell does not say; instead, he cites dramatic examples such as the fall of Rome and the moral victory of America's "Founding Fathers." "If it is healed inwardly," he writes of the United States, "then it will heal itself outwardly."

The argument has a strong intuitive appeal—as long as readers do not stop to probe the connection between pornography and national defense, or between atheism and the international recession. It is, after all, reassuring to hear that intractable problems like inflation, declining productivity and the loss of American prestige abroad are really only personal, moral problems, no more difficult to solve than, say, a breach in family discipline or an occasional sexual indiscretion. Delicate as these private problems may be, at least you can hope to control them yourself.

Falwell clearly understands that his followers are most comfortable with private matters, questions of psychology and individual behavior. Troubled as they are by the state of the world, the problems they know how to handle best are problems of personal health and social relations. One of the most striking things about Falwell's writing is his psychological language, a vocabulary borrowed from the various "cults of the self" that became popular in the 1970s. "Self," "happiness," "security," "dependence": Falwell's reliance on psychological jargon reflects his basic tenet that the country is morally "sick."

And yet, the Moral Majority is in large part a reaction to what Falwell explicitly calls "the new narcissism of the seventies." He warns about the loneliness of people who live for pleasure,

Tamar Jacoby writes frequently for The Nation.

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and about the despair and anxiety that inevitably await them when they tire of their "escapist" lives. LaHaye, too, rails bitterly against "self-actualization" and "self-fulfillment," and against educators preoccupied with students' ability to express themselves. The error of secular humanism, for LaHaye, is the belief that man is the measure of all things, the hope that man can "solve his problems independently of God." LaHaye himself takes a fairly dim view of man: He is not only sinful by nature but also more or less incapable of moral judgment, a kind of automaton, helpless in the face of whatever he happens to see or hear. Thus, reading pornography inevitably leads to adultery and, eventually, divorce, just as television violence causes teen-age crime. In this, LaHaye's book is a direct attack on the optimism many Americans feel about their personal development and self-improvement.

LaHaye and Falwell also see that if people are going to renounce their own solipsistic self-improvement, they will want to disparage it in others. And yet, paradoxically, neither LaHaye nor Falwell nor Phyllis Schlafly can think of anything stronger to say about the liberated "sinners" they denounce than that, finally, they are not "happy." After all, Falwell and his followers are hardly less preoccupied with personal values. They, too, are concerned above all with their private lives—their daughters' abortions and their sons' sexual leanings. In this, it makes little difference that they believe their "inward health" is the key to the nation's well-being. Falwell rails against government interference in family matters, but offers little by way of alternative political ideals; if anything, the Moral Majority platform demands more Federal regulation of what happens at home and in the bedroom. In the end, Falwell is trapped by his own circumscribed psychological concerns; he can do little to free his supporters from the small circle of their narcissism. He and LaHaye and Schlafly can only fall back on the language of the therapeutic culture they despise. And it is in this idiom that they offer control—a substitute for the control that people feel they lack over economic conditions and the drift of foreign affairs.

Of course, many people are reassured by Falwell's program, whether or not it in fact answers their deeper fears, and are now turning to electoral politics. Together, New Right leaders like Schlafly and Falwell and Richard Viguerie have brilliantly molded a new constituency: grass-roots followers without political experience, preoccupied with intimate questions that have rarely been taken up in the political debate. All of these books dwell on the organizational strategies the New Right uses to draw people into the political process. In her biography of Schlafly, *The Sweetheart of the Silent Majority*, Carol Felsenthal describes the training seminars that Schlafly gives each year for the middle-class housewives of the Eagle Forum, a loose federation of local groups that have battled ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment in state capitals throughout the country. Schlafly teaches them how to hold press conferences and fund-raisers and demonstrations—and also gives prizes to the women who carry themselves with the most assurance or who have lost the most weight since the last conference.

The most important goal of county Moral Majority chapters is to recruit new voters: for LaHaye, it is "a sin" not to register to vote. He also exhorts readers to pray for their elected representatives and even to ask God if they themselves should consider running for office. Viguerie assumes that most of his followers do not read many magazines or follow political discussion among the much distrusted Eastern elite. That is why he reaches out to them through the mail, and generally they respond in kind, sending money or showering elected officials with angry letters about specific decisions. Thus his appeal to block the appointment of Judge Sandra Day O'Connor to the Supreme Court brought hundreds of thousands of letters to public officials in a matter of days. Viguerie acknowledges that "there aren't many new conservative ideas. Most of the ideas have been around for a long time." What is new is his political strategy, his decentralized popular appeal.

Viguerie and others often boast that they have found a voice for the silent majority; in truth, their considerable achievement has been to find the issues that would draw this group of previously apolitical citizens into the public debate—to make a political issue out of the essentially personal matters people feel they know something about. The New Right leaders have not yet begun to accomplish the social revolution they claim they want, but they may be presiding over a radical shift in the American political process—a shift in the kinds of people who are being drawn to active political organizing and in the kinds of problems they want the government to solve.

Schlafly was perhaps the first New Right leader to build a separate but parallel political empire with people who had never before taken part in mainstream battles. In large measure, this meant defining an enemy, convincing people that their sense of powerlessness was the direct result of someone else's determination to usurp control. It is, after all, considerably easier to blame the Federal government or a malicious pornographer than to adjust to the social changes that come with cheap and easy birth control.

The difficult thing for New Right leaders was convincing their followers that the governing elite was their natural and inevitable enemy, while at the same time persuading them that they could be an important force on the national political scene. Hence the strangely ambiguous tone of the speeches and books of many New Right leaders. Falwell claims that the country is on "the brink of death," but he is also convinced that a moral "crusade" could "turn America around in our lifetime." He quotes Edward Everett Hale, author of *Man Without a Country*: "'I'm only one—but I am one. I cannot do everything—but I can do something.'" Viguerie claims, defiantly:

> We weren't afraid to try even if there was only a 20 percent chance of success. We weren't worried about how the establishment, the press and others would view us if we lost. We knew if you expected to hit a lot of home runs, you had to expect to strike out a lot.

In their writings, the New Right leaders are at once underdogs and emerging victors, fearful that they will always be excluded from power and yet already flushed with the taste of blood.

Clearly this is an attitude better suited to winning political office than to holding it. It is not surprising that New Right leaders like Terry Dolan, chairman of the National Conservative Political Action Committee (N.C.P.A.C.), claim that they are almost always disappointed by the candidates they help bring to power. For his part, Viguerie is already deeply troubled by what Presi-

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dent Ronald Reagan has done in office. New Right voters will not, he warns, be "political Uncle Toms." He claims proudly that his program allows no room for compromise, as if compromise were not an essential part of getting a bill through Congress or negotiating with foreign powers. And then, in office, the New Right cannot evade the fundamental contradiction between its claim that government interferes too much and its followers' desperate hopes that Federal legislation can help them and their families resolve their most intimate dilemmas.

But the greatest problem New Right leaders will have in office will be dealing with the hopes of their supporters, their tacit expectations that by banning abortions and scolding homosexuals Americans will somehow find they are better able to stem inflation and compete in the nuclear arms race. The most difficult test of all will be to prove the link between "inward" and "outward" healing. It is easy enough to understand the psychological appeal of what Falwell and others offer their followers. But one can't help wondering how long it will last—how long passing laws about other people's private lives can allay the New Right's deeper fears about all those things they cannot control. □

The Ultimate Other

VIVIAN GORNICK

CONFESSIONS OF AN ANTI-SEMITE. *By Gregor von Rezzori. The Viking Press. 287 pp. $13.95.*

This is a novelistic autobiography written by a multilingual European writer born in 1914 to Austrian colonials who had been posted to Rumania and had been caught there when the Austro-Hungarian Empire collapsed at the end of the First World War. The Middle European version of low-grade British colonials in India, Gregor von Rezzori's parents lived on in the Bukovina, feeling deserted by history and remaining loyal to the Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy they could not believe was dead and buried. The final betrayal was the son who grew up loving Rumania (even though they sent him home to Vienna to be educated) and who then proceeded to live three lives in six languages, all of them haunted by an acute sense of permanent dislocation.

Jews are the complicated walking symbol of von Rezzori's alienated state, the Jews of his boyhood and young manhood. Jews he has feared, loved, desired, betrayed, degraded and been degraded by, and of whom he has said to himself, "Whatever else I am, at least I am not *that*, but why is it I can never get away from them?" Jews he must scorn, patronize, flee from, merge with, drown in, be endlessly embroiled with. Jews he needs to separate from, cleanse himself of, extend recognition to, come to terms with. And never does.

This book is composed of five pieces, four of which are highly shaped reminiscences of different periods of the author's life. Each reminiscence grows out of an experience with a Jew. The first story, set in childhood, is about a summer in which the narrator is sent to the country estate of his aristocratic aunt and uncle. There he forms a friendship with a Jewish toughie from the village. The son of the local doctor, this urchin turns out to have great musical talent, and the aunt, a frustrated musician, becomes entranced by him. The friendship between the boys turns sour, and eventually everyone acts badly.

In the second story the narrator is 19; he has left school in Vienna and gone off against his parents' wishes "to live" in Bucharest. There he comes up against hard times and ends up selling beauty products to local drugstores, in the course of which he meets and falls into a passionate affair with a Jewish woman in her 30s whom he calls the Black Widow. This relationship, too, ends in foul behavior and self-disgust.

The third story, set in Bucharest a few years later, is about a Hungarian-Jewish boardinghouse filled with marginal types, among whom the narrator fits in easily. To this place comes a young woman raised as an Armenian Christian but who is actually a Jew. She has just returned from studying in Berlin, where she saw Nazism on the rise, and she knows what she has seen. In the boardinghouse she takes the narrator's shoulder-shrugging manner for sympathy and involves him in helping her with a problem she has. Afterward, she thanks him and tells him he was as friendly and cooperative as she had expected him to be. His response:

> This drove me to the brink of forgetting my manners. What on earth gave [her] the right to "expect" anything of me at all? . . . I could not help seeing in her the snotty-nosed Jewish guttersnipe we were always in danger of running over when driving through the dusty village streets. It was on the tip of my tongue to tell her she could think, say, or "expect" what the hell she liked of me for all I cared so long as she left me in peace.

The fourth story, set in Vienna in the early 1930s, describes the narrator's friendship with a beautiful bohemian Jewish woman who lives in the apartment above his grandparents. She takes him into her bed, her home and her life with the ease and delight of a worldly woman cuddling a handsome, sympathetic boy. Through her he meets artists, journalists and playboys, and becomes a familiar of sophisticated bar life. His feeling for her is complex and intense. He often looks at her across an unbridgeable emotional distance and thinks to himself: My God, she *is* beautiful and wonderful. If she weren't Jewish I might consider falling in love with her, and even marrying her. At the end, as the Nazis are crowding into Vienna and the future is upon them, in a burst of uncontrollable affection he offers to marry her in order to get her out of the country. She thanks him, and very softly refuses. "Much as I love you," she says, "because of certain 'goyish' qualities in your soul I could never marry you."

The brilliance of these stories lies in von Rezzori's gift for evoking the special quality of the places in which they are set—the soft beauty of rural Bukovina in the 1920s, the teeming Easternism of Bucharest, the cafe life of prewar Vienna—and in his skill at painting the anti-Semitism that pervaded European life before the Second World War.

To an American Jew in her middle 40s, the Jew-hating texture of von Rezzori's prose is breathtaking: its seamless flow, the integration of its references, the ordinary, all-purpose, everydayness of it. Jews are the *urmenschen*, all low passion and high cunning. Jews are the scurvy underside of socialized life (as in

Vivian Gornick is the author of Essays in Feminism *(Harper & Row) and is working on a book about women in science.*

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"He wasn't a Jew, he was a man of high moral character"); the embodiment of unfiltered self-hatred (as in "It was typically Jewish to change your name, for Jews quite understandably did not want to be taken for what they were"); the ultimate *other* (as in "It wasn't that we hated Jews. Generally, we neither liked nor disliked them. It was only when they tried to yiddle us, that is, pass themselves off as one of us, that they disgusted us"). The sound of such a voice bites acid-deep. It tells you in no uncertain terms that you're only a generation removed from having been one of the niggers of Europe.

The personality behind *Memoirs of an Anti-Semite* both attracts and repels. It is savvy, literate, ardent, erotic; vain, shallow, purposeless, cruel. Von Rezzori's "I" is saved from caricature—the Middle European dandy of the prewar years, intellectually observant, spiritually listless, sexually exploitative—by the intelligence of his self-description, but as the stories progress there emerges the portrait of a man moving not toward engagement but rather toward a kind of misanthropic inertness he himself does not really understand and, moreover, does not wish to understand. Brilliant as these Jewish episodes of his life are, after a time they begin to read like the objective correlative to a condition of psychological sluggishness whose permanence has been assured from the first words of the memoir, an elaboration on *skushno*, the Russian word for boredom. For von Rezzori, "It means more than dreary boredom: a spiritual void that sucks you in like a vague but intensely urgent longing."

In the story of the Black Widow, von Rezzori remarks on how it felt to become a salesman of toothpaste and shampoo:

> I lived in a constant interplay between humiliation and impotent rebellion, between the craziest faith in auspicious promise and dreadful doubts about myself and everything I was doing. Occasionally I was struck by the dreadful thought that all these experiences assaulting me and arousing such contradictory sensations were characteristic and normal only to those for whom I had been taught since childhood to feel contempt: Jews. . . . I now understood their anxieties, their messianic expectations, the abrupt change from immeasurable arrogance to shamefaced self-debasement. . . . I began apologizing to them for my previous contempt. Still, I hardly found it edifying to comprehend their behavior in terms of my own emotions.

A pity. If von Rezzori *had* found it edifying, he might have produced a far different book. The man at the center of these stories is always on the verge of breaking through to some open understanding of his feelings about Jews; he keeps coming close, but never arrives.

Instead, he tells his stories with the very particular unreflectiveness of a mind formed in the first decade of the century, out of a psyche that remained unresponsive to the years that followed. Von Rezzori's voice is both racy and literate, wonderfully rich in syntactical unexpectedness and the multilingual use of idiom, but he is essentially speaking from *inside* the world that originally shaped him—not, as he believes, from a point of informed removal. That world, at least insofar as literature is concerned, began with Schnitzler and ended with Céline, and can now deliver up only nostalgia, whether benign or malignant.

Throughout his life von Rezzori has remained a cultural refugee, a man without place or purpose. He has an unpleasant investment in his refugee status. In order for him to understand what Jews have meant to him he must relinquish his own sense of disenfranchisement long enough to make the necessary psychological connections. But, devoted as he is to a distaste for himself, von Rezzori dismisses out of hand the Freudian turn on the road, th only path his memoir could have trav eled to gain authority and significance The detachment he claims in callin himself an anti-Semite—startling an compelling at first—is not genuine. H is not at all possessed of the insight tha comes with emotions brought unde control.

The last chapter of the book—un focused, bitter, nostalgic, abstract—only serves to underscore the deepe condition to which this skillful confession does not confess. This chapter is written in the third person instead of the first and set in the Rome of today; von Rezzori speaks here as a man in his late 60s, rapidly summing up. Bilious and confused, disappointed and a bit frightened, he clearly doesn't know what to make of the world around him, and he doesn't *want* to know. He openly longs for prewar Europe, the only world he can ever understand or value, and retreats before our eyes into the cocoon-like dislocation he has always wanted to occupy. The surface of this chapter, horribly enough, announces, in effect: "The Jews won. We struggled against the rising tide from the East but now we are drowned in it. The *urmenschen* have taken over. I give up." But the essence of it, worse yet, reveals: "I have never understood the origins of my emotional life, and what's more it frightens me to even consider the matter. I am certainly not about to engage the issue here in these pages." □

Generation Without Forebears

JEAN BETHKE ELSHTAIN

GRANDPARENTS/GRANDCHILDREN: The Vital Connection. *By Arthur Kornhaber, M.D., and Kenneth L. Woodward. Doubleday & Company. 279 pp. $11.95.*

My grandfather died last November. He was 87 years old. A sturdy, proud man, he had journeyed to these shores, like so many other grandparents or great-grandparents, from the Old Country; had suffered the indignities meted out to each new wave of "foreigners"; had worked for meager wages under exploitative conditions; had, through unrelenting effort on his part and the part of his family, and stern self-reliance, and just a bit of luck, finally gotten his own land, a farm near the small town of Windsor in the irrigated country of northern Colorado. His dream, the dream of all displaced peasant people like my grandparents, had come true, for land was the heart of that dream.

But "Grandpa in the country," as his twenty great-grandchildren called him, died harboring a deep-rooted ambivalence about America, a suspicion that something had gone wrong, that America wasn't everything it was cracked up to be. Whenever he began to voice this doubt, to air his cynicism about the way power and money controlled things in his adopted homeland, to acknowledge his bitterness at having spent his first

Jean Bethke Elshtain teaches political theory at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

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hristmas Eve in America shoveling a ıountain of soggy, half-frozen manure ɔr one of the "big shots," my grand- ıother would shush him and scold him ith reminders about the fate that waited their people (Volga Germans) ı their Russian homeland: deportation nd forced labor, as the awesome power f the Soviet state set out to destroy heir identity as a unique people. Grandpa would mind his tongue until Grandma was out of earshot, and then ıe would speak some more evil. Though he couldn't articulate his sense ɔf dis-ease at what his own modest ıuccess, American style, had wrought, he emotional meaning of his scat- ered comments became clear over the ears.

He wasn't happy about what Amer- ca did to families and communities. He ecalled an earlier time of human olidarity when farm families gathered for picnics and polka dances, for bap- tisms and confirmations, for marriages and funerals. That didn't happen any- more. True, he and Grandma had not been deserted by their children, by their grandchildren, nor, as it turns out, by their great-grandchildren, the way many "old folks like me" had. But things weren't the same. His lament wasn't so much about change as about changes that seemed to him not for the better.

My grandfather's muted awareness receives powerful confirmation in Ar- thur Kornhaber and Kenneth Wood- ward's study of grandparents and grandchildren. Their book is somewhat misleadingly billed by its publisher as a variant on the impossibly overdone theme of self-help. The authors do prof- fer advice to grandparents toward their conclusion. But the book's major con- tribution is not to our penchant for quick emotional fixes and ready resolu- tions to daunting personal and social problems but to our self-understanding in a world in which everyone has been left reeling from the pace and the direc- tion of social change over the past two generations.

Grandparents/Grandchildren has sev- eral distinct levels of argumentation and reflection, each convincingly linked to the others. On the level of general con- cepts, Kornhaber and Woodward make provocative arguments that are widely applicable and vital to contemporary social theory and criticism. Their book is also an object lesson in how sensitive scholars can develop a methodology wholly appropriate to their subject mat-

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ter: human beings. Finally—and this is the book's heart and soul—there are the moving, bitter, quizzical, confused, angry, humorous, always powerful words of the 300 grandparents and 300 grandchildren the authors interviewed. The subjects are alive and real to us, providing a startling contrast to those cardboard cutout "objects" called people in much academic social science.

The authors' most important contribution to social criticism is "the new social contract," a notion they deploy both to explain *what* has happened to once vital connections between grandparents and grandchildren in contemporary American society and to explore *why*. Kornhaber and Woodward found this new social contract inescapable as they reviewed the overwhelming evidence they had amassed. Today's grandparents, a tiny minority excepted, feel "sapped of the emotional strength necessary to assert themselves as Great Parents"; they have "ceded to their children the power to determine their own relationship to their grand children."

Fighting their own powerful emotion al drives and human urges, these grand parents have relinquished an involve ment with their grandchildren as a rela tionship "independent of their connec tion with their children." Why? Be cause the new social contract, as ou pervasive "climate of opinion," holds that the aim of human life "is no mutual support but mutual independence"; it "rests on the assumptions that intimacy equals emotional dependence and that emotions equal weakness." As one grandmother who had severed her connections to her grandchildren put it: "Anyway, it's not too good to get too close. I don't want my grandchildren or my children to feel they owe me anything, that they are responsible for me, that I would interfere with their family or their financial status, or be a burden." This particular woman had grimly reconciled herself to an old age of thin connections to her grandchildren. But her husband sadly told the authors: "There's no doubt that there's something missing now. It's an emptiness inside, perhaps where the grandchildren were supposed to be." Grandparent after grandparent spoke of feelings of emptiness, isolation and confusion.

How could things seem so wrong when they did what was "right"—right according to the child-rearing experts, right according to the work ethos of our driven culture, right according to contractual and market imperatives, right according to the ideology of freedom *from* emotional bond(age) as the American Way and the surest route to personal success and social progress. And what about the grandchildren? Defenders of the new social contract might concede that grandparents, part of the old way not yet fully supplanted by the brave new world of disconnections, are going to be bummed out. But once they are removed from the scene, their children—the first generation reared under the terms of this contract—and, more important, the grandchildren of the despairing grandparents, can carry on with nary a backward (in several senses) glance. Kornhaber and Woodward demonstrate that this comforting bit of ideology is wholly false and destructive. Grandchildren are not "parties to this implied social contract but they are its primary victims."

For those who have fit their sights

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within the frame of the new social contract this may seem puzzling. Isn't it the case that the three-generation family no longer exists, that it hasn't for a while and that experts have reassured us on that score? True, measurers and correlators and functionalists have claimed for years that their theoretical model of the "ideal-typical" streamlined nuclear family (Mom, Pop and two kids) both represented the way things mostly were, at least for those who counted (the middle and upper-middle classes), and certainly pointed the way to what we would all become. This thoroughly modern family lived in perfect sync with the "needs" of the "macro-order" for a mobile, rootless, upwardly-striving work force.

Kornhaber and Woodward concede too much when they indicate that, as a simple sociological "fact," this image may be correct. But whether the family of sociological lore ever really existed or not, *psychologically* the model-builders and the cheerleaders for the nuclear family model were, and are, dead wrong. They forget, it seems, that families are composed of human beings and that even very young and very small human beings "know that they are grandchildren. All grandparents know that they are grandparents. . . . No matter how grandparents act, they affect the emotional well-being of their grandchildren, for better or worse, simply because they exist."

With this a dramatic story unfolds. Children with grandparents they see rarely or not at all have extraordinarily different perceptions of the world, of their place in it and of old people from the fortunate children (only 5 percent of Kornhaber and Woodward's sample) who have close and continuing contact with their grandparents. To oversimplify (the material here is very evocative, very rich), children who see their grandparents irregularly evince a sense of loss, deprivation and abandonment. When these children were asked to talk about their grandparents, or to draw pictures of them, they frequently cried, expressed bitterness and rage, and were cynical about old people in general.

In the group of unfortunate children who have no contact at all, the authors "found . . . a wound where, the children felt, a grandparent ought to be." These children depicted grandparents as shadowy, vague forms or as ugly, wizened caricatures of old age, and they could not muster a "sense of future as older people"; indeed, the majority feared and reviled old age, describing old people as "ugly, wrinkled [and] disgusting" and expressing a desire "never" to be "like that." It doesn't take a vivid imagination to see a possible link between this alienation from, and hostility to, old age and the increasing acts of violence by the young against the old in America.

But the children who have frequent contact with their grandparents painted a different picture. They portrayed a richly textured world revolving around family connections, particularly those to grandparents. These human ties gave the children a foundation for action, for *freedom*; they felt freer to be themselves, to experiment with play and action, precisely "because of the foundation of security" they felt beneath them. The authors' conclusion verifies a piece of common folk wisdom which holds that the emotional attachment between grandparent and grandchild is unique and special, and gives the child some emotional relief from the demands of parents, providing the child with a sense of time and place and an emotional legacy that may ripen into adult "generativity," responsible adult concern for the next generation. □

Writing Off the Vets

PHYLLIS VINE

WOUNDED MEN, BROKEN PROMISES. *By Robert Klein. Macmillan Publishing Company. 300 pp. $12.95.*

The forty Vietnam veterans who recently went on an eighteen-day hunger strike in California to protest medical mistreatment by the Veterans Administration could have marched from the pages of this book. According to the protesters, James Hopkins's suicide, which prompted the hunger strike, was the perhaps inevitable consequence of the V.A.'s indifference to, and disregard for, his medical and health needs. Though they have seldom been made with a thunderous voice, such charges are as old as the V.A. itself. As Robert Klein shows, with the exception of a few years following World War II, the V.A. has been notorious for failing to meet the health-care needs of the very men who were enticed into service with the promise that lifetime medical care would be among their rewards.

Wounded Men, Broken Promises lays bare the frustrations that turn into rage for men like those who demonstrated at the V.A.'s Wadsworth Medical Center in California. Men like Anthony Gonzales, who needed a new leg brace and boot for his crippled foot, but ended up in psychiatric confinement for two weeks. When the ill-fitting replacement arrived six months later, "they wanted to cut my foot to fit the shoe," Klein quotes Gonzales as saying. Klein relates stories of others whose symptoms were ignored or treated inappropriately (one man with shrapnel remaining in his penis was encouraged to seek psychological counseling to help him "adjust"); he recounts episodes of veterans who would gladly exchange their disability payments (as much as $2,000 a month) in return for effective medical treatment; and he gives examples of aging and aged veterans of both world wars and the Korean War who are ignored in custodial care while confined in one of the V.A.'s fifteen domiciliary facilities or one of its ninety-one nursing homes.

The V.A., with an annual budget of $20.3 billion, is the second largest Federal agency after the Department of Defense. It offers survivor benefits, educational and housing assistance, employment programs and disability compensation. Approximately one-quarter of its budget ($5.4 billion in 1979) is reserved for health-related programs. In 1978, these programs employed almost 195,000 full-time workers who provided inpatient care for 1.3 million veterans. This mammoth enterprise claims to offer "health care second to none."

In fact, bureaucratic and medical mismanagement, graft, cronyism and crass disregard for patients have marked the system for the last fifty years. By the end of World War II, after several hearings conducted by a House subcommittee on veterans' legislation, the V.A. acknowledged that its professional staff

Phyllis Vine teaches in the health advocacy program at Sarah Lawrence College and is writing a book about how families cope with mental illness, to be published by Pantheon.

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was "far below adequate and desirable" levels. Gen. Omar Bradley was brought in to clean up the agency, and during his stint as chief administrator (1945-47) he dedicated himself to improving the quality of medical care. An alliance was struck between many medical schools and the V.A. hospitals, committing part of the agency's vast resources to the schools and wooing new personnel from quality faculties while dismissing unsatisfactory staff. Despite a proviso in the 1946 agreement that makes the V.A. responsible for patient care and gives it a veto over the staff that medical schools "nominate," the relationship has evolved into one that places a premium on medical education, not on patient care. Klein points out that when a V.A. hospital affiliates with a medical school, as 136 of the 172 have, the V.A. adjusts "its activities to insure completion of [medical and dental] curricular responsibilities within the affiliation."

In 1977, for example, a hearing before a House subcommittee on veterans' affairs charged that medical residents at a V.A. hospital in Durham, North Carolina, accepted patients according to the residents' own medical-training interests rather than the needs of the patients. The charge was not denied by the head of the hospital at the time. In another hospital with a medical school affiliation, 96 percent of the 4,672 operations performed one year were done by residents. Offering considerable evidence from doctors, medical students and professors at affiliated schools, Klein argues persuasively that students, interns and residents are not adequately supervised in surgery or on the wards.

The V.A.'s response to the controversy over Agent Orange, the defoliant sprayed throughout Vietnam in the 1960s, again illustrates its indifference to the health-care needs of the veteran population. According to Klein, veterans exposed to Agent Orange "are dying at twice the rate of death in actual combat," and many of their children have been born with multiple defects. Yet the V.A. has consistently denied any relationship between the 44 million pounds of dioxin to which the soldiers were exposed and their deteriorating health. Despite all the information gathered by Agent Orange Victims International, the V.A. has not only ignored the complaints but has even ordered one employee of its Chicago regional office to stop assembling the material. And, to guarantee that she did, her duties were changed to restrict her contact with veterans.

In June, the Senate voted 98 to 0 to finance medical treatment for victims of Agent Orange and those exposed to radiation during domestic testing of nuclear weapons in the 1940s and 1950s. Thus, the V.A. has finally been put on notice. Whether its staff will continue to insist that cancers found in veterans are not the result of exposure to the defoliant, and therefore are not service related, remains to be seen. As Robert Muller, executive director of Vietnam Veterans of America, said, "It does remain an open question as to how the V.A. will implement this legislative mandate."

One problem is that veterans really have no advocates committed primarily to their health-care needs. Most of the 30 million eligible vets do not use the system. Those who must are often unemployed (largely due to their ill health) or too poor to go elsewhere. And veterans do not form a united voting bloc. Moreover, groups that speak on their behalf—Veterans of Foreign Wars, the American Legion, Disabled American Veterans—have been more concerned with pensions and compensation for disabilities than with the delivery of health-care services.

The story of these betrayed veterans resembles that of others for whom the social contract has been bent, if not broken. Veterans informed that they are not eligible for disability payments despite evidence indicating that their illnesses are service related are dismissed in the same way as the mentally ill who, when released from hospitals, find that promised community services are unavailable. And the treatment of the vets is no worse than the treatment of the occupationally disabled who are denied compensation because their cancers took twenty years to develop. Like all those whose wallets are thin, veterans are struggling to survive in a nation where health care is regarded as a privilege and not a right. □

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FILMS.

ROBERT HATCH

Lili Marleen

Rainer Werner Fassbinder's *Lili Marleen* is a fictional romance about an otherwise undistinguished and relatively untalented nightclub entertainer who is said to have recorded the most contagious song of World War II. This is an odd sort of venture for Fassbinder. The story behind it, which I get from Vincent Canby's notice in *The New York Times*, seems to be that one of the most "difficult" and certainly the most tormented of contemporary German directors was offered a lot of money to make a commercial picture.

If so, Fassbinder both honored his bargain and revenged himself on whoever presumed to hire his talent. *Lili Marleen* is a big, glossy, sobbing tale of passion between the spunky little German hoofer and her soulful lover, who risks his life rescuing fellow Jews from Hitler. Willie (Hanna Schygulla) and her Robert (Giancarlo Giannini) meet and embrace in Zurich. They travel together on a mission into Germany, but when they attempt to return, she is denied entry by the Swiss border guards on grounds arranged by Robert's humane but resolute father (Mel Ferrer), who heads the rescue group in Switzerland and fears the German girl's

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presence within its circle. Robert, made frantic by love, takes desperate risks to see her; eventually he is caught and must be rescued by the agency, which is in a position to bargain because, thanks largely to Willie's efforts, it possesses a film of atrocities committed in an extermination camp.

She, meanwhile, has risen high in the Nazi elite (Goebbels hates and fears her song, but Hitler drools over it) and frankly revels in the luxury available to a favorite of the Führer. At the end, when the war is over, Willie is a hunted woman and Robert is a distinguished orchestra conductor who, having been tricked into believing that Willie changed sides, has married the girl of his father's choice. There is a final scene of renunciation and I have omitted countless episodes in the grand tradition of screen heroics, including battle scenes from every front in which German lads plunge to their deaths with the strains of "Lili Marleen" ringing in their heads.

The film is a masterpiece of schmaltz on an epic scale. At the same time, it is as bitter a picture as Fassbinder has ever made. Every scene, every character (many of them played by regular members of Fassbinder's troupe), is designed to convey his contempt for the sleazy emotions he so easily evokes. The picture throbs, but there is no real life in it, because episode after episode has been extracted from the morgue of commercial movie making and cynically but masterfully regalvanized to draw the public into a pool of warm tears.

Fassbinder himself, who appears briefly as the leader in Germany of the rescue operation, reveals his face for a moment; it is contorted with disgust. Given the job of directing a commercial success, he chose to pour canned syrup over Hitler's Germany. Fassbinder does more than play at anger; he is cold with hatred of Hollywood's facile blandishments. □

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Michael Schudson on "60 Minutes"

John Lahr on Joe Orton's "Entertaining Mr. Sloane"

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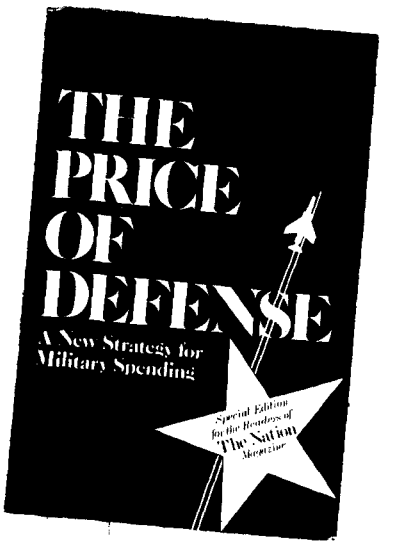

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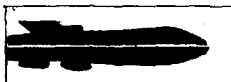

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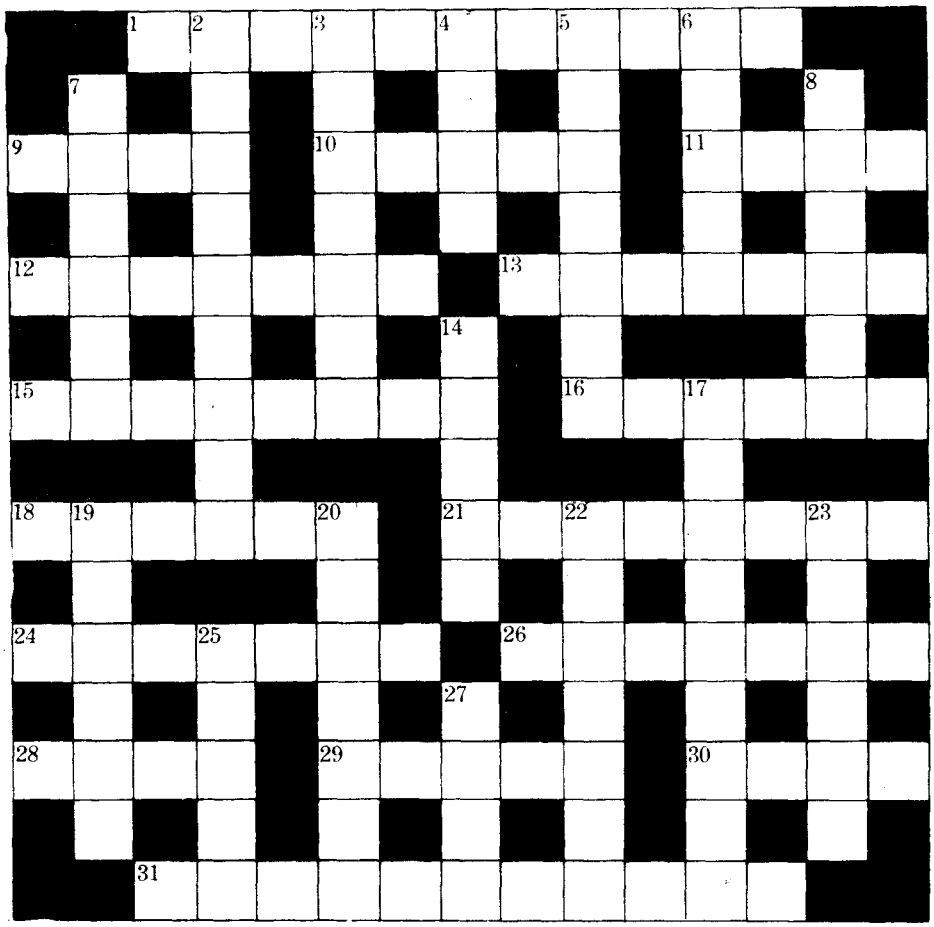

ACROSS

1 A real comparison might be the size of an old weekly. (2,3,2,4)
9 and 10 Possibly an agreement with off-beat style attached to one perhaps associated with a sling. (4,5)
11 and 23 down Instructions for the team might involve putting something near the plate. (4,6)
12 A short time with nothing to drink, implying strict behavior. (7)
13 What memory did for Dali? (7)
15 Possibly started out as a cub, concerned with one usually tipped. (8)
16 A 25 of this makes a short story, but the second type might stay on the bench. (6)
18 Gained by those coming in. (6)
21 Bi-plane sounds like its meaning, but a more modern craft usually carries things with such markings. (3,5)
24 An Englishman, as one might say, and another fellow used to sell things like books. (7)
26 There might be a penalty for being so, but it's not near to a horseman. (7)
28 and 29 Doesn't imply the work of iron isn't given, but it's one of the things a 15 prizes. (4,5)
30 You and I might have something we call this. (4)
31 Perhaps 2 down, but not top-ranking. (6-5)

DOWN

2 Reputedly a wise fool hopes room can be made for it. (9)
3 Was Thomas reputedly, or is there some question if things are, with it bound this way? (2,5)
4 Comes between the man referred to in 3, and 8. (4)
5 Communist uprising when the boys are around shows what might get people up! (7)
6 When they blow, your troubles might appear to be light. (5)
7 Part of the plant seems to say "Let's have a speed competition!" (6)
8 Nary an 11 coming up, but some call him a wizard. (6)
14 When the 6 go, you might feel this way. (5)
17 A new version is likely, after making them, which is about what dreamers see! (9)
19 A little firm at this place, so stick together. (6)
20 Not real poor for the most part, but it might go to your head. (7)
22 A negative response, but 6 starts out in genuine circumstances. (7)
23 See 11 across
25 Part of it sounds like what was worth any price to some. (5)
27 Make one's way to the West End, obviously. (4)

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